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SELECTIONS FROM PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MAGAZINES

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Hong Kong, B. C. C.

May 27-June 2, 1975

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QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO

Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.

Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be fully achieved in every factory, village, office and school.

The cultivation of our Party in Marxism-Leninism has yielded some progress compared with the past, but it is still not very widespread and deep-going. Our task is to lead a great nation with a population of several hundred million to carry out a great struggle without parallel. Therefore, the task of studying Marxism-Leninist theories in a widespread and deep-going way is a major problem which we must solve urgently and can only solve with concentrated effort.

When the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism reflecting the practical struggle of the world's proletariat is integrated with the concrete practice of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in China, it becomes a weapon for the Chinese people to fight a hundred battles without losing one. That is what the Chinese Communist Party is doing. It is in the course of the resolute struggle against all forms of dogmatism and empiricism running counter to this truth that our Party has developed and progressed.

It is still necessary to have universities; here I refer mainly to colleges of science and engineering. However, it is essential to shorten the length of schooling, revolutionize education, put proletarian politics in command and take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few year's study.

* * *

The Sole Purpose of Mastering Marxist Theory Is to Apply It

by

T'ien Ch'un (田 春)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, May 1, 1975)

The movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is going deeper throughout China. A climate of doing serious reading, linking theory with practice, strengthening investigation and study and making a point of summing up experience is prevailing in many organizations and among many comrades. Revisionism is being further criticized. There are significant first results in the study. In studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and in gradually raising the Marxist-Leninist level of cadres and the masses, persistent efforts are required over many years. We must fully realize the vital significance of the study movement and pay full attention to it.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "It is necessary to master Marxist theory and apply it, master it for the sole purpose of applying it." ("Rectify the Party's style of work") Here, Chairman Mao explains the demand of studying theory--to master it, and he also explains the purpose--to apply it. This is how our current study should be conducted. While we read and study conscientiously and go into things carefully, we should closely link theory with practice and lay stress on application.

Our country is in an important period of its historical development. Our Party is leading the masses in a great struggle that is far more arduous, complicated and profound than any previous struggle. We will spend a very long time, make big efforts and cover a long, arduous and zigzag course in combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and finally achieving the complete abolition of classes. This poses many theoretical and practical questions that we will have to solve. For example, why is there harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base? Why is bourgeois right unavoidable, and yet it must be restricted? Why cannot the commodity system, exchange through money and distribution according to work be abolished, and yet they must be prevented from giving rise to capitalism? How are the new bourgeois elements engendered? What are the new changes in class relations? Questions like these require theoretical explanation and scientific interpretation. Unless we make a conscientious and profound study of the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Chairman Mao's instructions and theses on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we cannot be really clear on these questions nor truly understand why and how we should strengthen the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie so as gradually to create the conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise and fulfill the historical

mission of the proletariat. Judged by these requirements, we can say that our study has only just begun and that we still have a long way to go. High resolve and big effort are needed to make sure that we grasp the subject on the level of integrating theory and practice.

Some of our comrades set very low demands on themselves in study. They do not try to master theory. After spending some time in study, they think they have already "mastered" it or have "almost completed" their study. This hampers their efforts in deepening their study. We must realize that many of our comrades understand only a little about Marxism-Leninism and they must study it afresh in a down-to-earth manner. Even for those who have studied some basic Marxist-Leninist theories, there are many new issues that they must study again. Theory is the ideological basis for the line and policies, and the guide to revolutionary action. Only when we clearly grasp theory can we have a definite orientation in our action, distinguish between Marxism and revisionism and solve all questions correctly. We must cherish this excellent opportunity for study, conscientiously study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, and strive to study them better so as to raise our theoretical level further. This will be of great benefit to deepening our criticism of revisionism, to our current work and to our future struggle.

When some comrades fail to set strict demands on themselves in study in accordance with the thesis that "the sole purpose of mastering Marxist theory is to apply it" and when they take a wait-and-see attitude toward solving some practical problems through study, this will not help them study theory well, nor will it help them carry out practical work.

The unity of theory and practice is a fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism. We learn theory not for its own sake, but in order to combat and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and continue the revolution under this dictatorship. Chairman Mao points out: "Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be fully achieved in every factory, village, office and school." We must work and struggle more consciously to implement this instruction in studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. There are questions both in the economic base and the superstructure that must be carefully solved in the interest of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. And it is for the purpose of better understanding and solving these questions that we advocate doing conscientious reading, linking theory with practice, undertaking investigation and study and summing up experience. Linking theory with practice to arrive at a solution of these questions will show more clearly the importance of studying theory and will make our study go more deeply.

Questions in practical work, many of which are rather complicated, must be solved with prudence. In particular, no changes should be made rashly where clearly defined policies and systems exist. But prudence does not mean it is not necessary to link theory with practice. Chairman Mao says: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear.
Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism.

This should be made known to the whole nation." Here he points out explicitly that the major question we must grasp and solve is that of combating and preventing revisionism. What we must do in real earnest is to criticize revisionism further and clear away its influence and manifestations, overcoming empiricism and dogmatism as well. Chairman Mao points out: "Dogmatism is divorced from concrete practice, while empiricism mistakes fragmentary experience for universal truth; both kinds of opportunist thinking run counter to Marxism." ("On the Coalition Government") Our struggle against revisionism includes overcoming these two erroneous tendencies, empiricism and dogmatism. Resist erosion resulting from the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie, get rid of the bourgeois style of living, and carry forward the revolutionary spirit of plain living and arduous struggle; this is an important aspect of our struggle to combat and prevent revisionism. The bourgeois style of living is the hotbed of revisionism. If we are affected by it, we will not only harm the revolution but also harm ourselves. Having realized this, we must remold ourselves consciously, the more quickly and more thoroughly, the better. We must effectively carry on struggle-criticism-transformation in all spheres of the superstructure, support new things that help gradually narrow the differences between town and country, between worker and peasant and between manual and mental labor, and bring communist spirit into play; this is of major significance for our struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and should be done at all times. Particularly at present we should pay attention to summing up experience on these matters and press ahead with struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure. All this needs to be guided by the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and we should strive to make progress by our study. Questions in practical work should be concretely analyzed as conditions vary from place to place and from unit to unit. The two different types of contradictions should be correctly handled and, when it comes to contradictions among the people, more ideological-political work should be done to raise the consciousness of the cadres and the masses in remolding their world outlook. Only when the whole Party and the people throughout the country have a clear idea of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat can they have unity in thinking and action and work in concert in dealing with such questions as what to support, what to oppose, what to restrict and what to do away with as well as on the question of how to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the basis of their theoretical study, many leading cadres have of late gone into the thick of life to conduct investigations and study, sum up experience and work well. Leading bodies in many organizations are working with great revolutionary drive, improving their style of leadership, firmly combating unhealthy tendencies and, by exemplary actions, leading the masses in grasping revolution and promoting production, and the results are good. This revolutionary style of study which embodies the unity of theory and practice should be adhered to and carried forward.

In the article "Oppose Book Worship," Chairman Mao criticizes the erroneous ideas among a section of comrades who are content with the status quo, do not try to understand what is going on, and are hollowly optimistic, thinking that this "absolutely is not the ideological line that Communists should create a new situation in struggle." What Chairman Mao

says here still deserves our vigilance today. We must carry forward the revolutionary spirit, study hard, sum up new experience in practice, and strive to make clear and apply well the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

* * *

An Important Question in the Relations of Production

by

Yüan Ch'ing (袁青)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, May 1, 1975)

In human society, people always form certain relations of production and engage in productive activities to solve the problems of their material well-being. The relations of production consist of three aspects, namely, the ownership of the means of production, the relations between men and the method of distribution. The ownership of the means of production forms the basis of the relations of production and determines the two other aspects. The two other aspects react on the system of ownership and play a decisive role under given conditions. This is the Marxist view of the dialectical unity of all the aspects of the relations of production. In our study of the socialist relations of production, we must also adhere to this view.

There has been much talk on the question of how the socialist system of ownership determines the relations between men. But, the question of what effect the relations between men have on the socialist system of ownership is often easily ignored by some people. This, however, is an important question worth our serious study. It is also a question Chairman Mao has constantly reminded us to pay attention to in leading us to carry on socialist revolution and construction.

After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was completed in the main, socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people have become the main forms of ownership in our country at the present stage. The establishment of the socialist system of ownership "is a great struggle and a great change in social system and in the relations between men." In cities, we first of all confiscated bureaucrat capital and turned it into socialist state-owned economy. Then we carried out step by step the socialist transformation of privately owned capitalist industry and commerce. The bourgeoisie was deprived of the means of production, and the relationship of exploitation between capitalists and workers was done away with. In the rural areas, we eliminated the feudal system of ownership, and then we replaced private individual ownership with a socialist collective economy. Thus several hundred million peasants embarked on the broad road of socialism. The proletariat and the working people have become masters of the state, and new socialist relations between men have been formed. The working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants have forged a strong alliance on the basis of socialism to work for the great cause of socialist revolution and construction. This kind of socialist relations between men are in accord with the need to consolidate and develop the socialist system of ownership. This is the principal aspect of the question. On the other hand, we must also see that under socialist conditions, there are still things in the relations between men that do not correspond with the socialist system of ownership. If these things are not handled properly, the new relations may still be undermined, and the

old relations may still be restored and become negative factors bringing down the socialist system of ownership.

Why?

Chairman Mao recently said on the socialist system: "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to work and exchange by means of money, and in all this differs little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so on. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." Chairman Mao's instruction has profoundly expounded the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and scientifically analyzed the socialist system, pointing out not only its difference from the capitalist system but emphatically the traces of capitalism it still retains and that bourgeois rights still exist. In the socialist period, bourgeois rights are bound to exist, and they are contradictory to consolidating and developing the socialist system of ownership. Therefore, they "can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Judging from the present conditions in our country, a small portion of private ownership still exists in the system of ownership, and within the socialist public ownership there still exists the difference between ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. Bourgeois rights have not yet been completely abolished. In the relations of distribution, "so long as products are distributed 'according to work,' 'bourgeois rights' still hold a dominant position" and continue to exist in the capacity of regulator in the distribution of products and the allotment of labor among members of society. In the relations between men, bourgeois rights are still prevalent to a serious extent. This gives us the task of continuing the revolution in the relations of production.

In class society, the relations between men are essentially class relations. In socialist society, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle. The development and change of the relations between men inevitably will be affected by the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and inevitably will be influenced by traditional concepts reflecting the old system, the concept of bourgeois rights in particular. We promote either proletarian or bourgeois relations, one way or the other. On the question of dealing with bourgeois rights and what kind of relations to be established between men, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is extremely acute and fierce. The proletariat wants to restrict bourgeois rights and that part of inequality they entail in all fields and gradually create the conditions for their final abolition. The bourgeoisie, however, tries in every possible way to utilize and extend such rights as its economic basis to undermine and sabotage the socialist system and restore capitalism. Under the condition that commodity production and exchange by means of money continue to exist, the bourgeoisie always will try its utmost to

implant its principle of exchange of commodities in the relations between men and use the capitalist relations of money, labor hiring and competition to undermine and replace the socialist relations between men. It is obvious that, even though the question of socialist ownership has been solved in the main, a new kind of relations between men cannot take shape spontaneously, much less remain fixed and unchanged. The establishment of the socialist system of ownership has provided the preconditions and possibility for the formation and development of socialist relations between men. To translate this possibility into reality, we have a lot of work to do, and we must carry on protracted struggle.

The historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat at home and abroad tells us that whether the socialist system advances or moves backward is closely linked with whether or not we can correctly adjust the relations between men. When the relations between men are well adjusted, we will be able to consolidate and develop the socialist system of ownership. When the relations between men are ill adjusted, the system of ownership will also change, and the already abolished bourgeois rights in the system of ownership may yet be restored. Here the key lies in who holds the leadership, whether Marxism or revisionism is practiced, and which line is implemented. When the leadership is in the hands of Marxists and the masses of workers and peasants, and when Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is conscientiously implemented, the negative effect of bourgeois rights will be checked, the communist factors in the relations between men will be greatly promoted, and a political situation characterized by unity, militancy, equality, mutual help and liveliness will come about among the people. This will enhance the development of the socialist system of ownership. If the leadership does not follow the correct ideological and political line but practices a revisionist line, often wants to promote such things as "material incentives," "putting profits in command," and so forth, and extend bourgeois rights in one way or another, then the sense of responsibility as masters and the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of workers and peasants will be suppressed, the minds of a part of the masses will be corroded, the rotten and vulgar ideas and style of work of the bourgeoisie inevitably will grow among people, and the socialist system of ownership cannot possibly be consolidated. If a handful of new bourgeois elements control political leadership, production management and products distribution, they will impose bourgeois rule on the masses, engage in capitalist operations in a big way under the socialist signboard, and restore the already abolished bourgeois rights in the system of ownership. Then, socialism will cease to exist but in name. Because there is a powerful dictatorship of the proletariat and because socialism is going more and more deeply into people's hearts, the new and old bourgeois elements and their agents generally do not dare to openly and directly change the socialist system of ownership. More often they will use the leadership they have usurped to continuously extend bourgeois rights, change the relations between men and thus make the socialist system of ownership degenerate into a capitalist system of ownership. This process of degeneration is a process of "peaceful evolution" from quantitative change to partial qualitative change and then to complete qualitative change. It is often difficult for people to perceive this, and therefore a very great danger exists here. The Soviet revisionist

renegade clique already did this. Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and their ilk also wanted to do it and indeed had already changed the socialist character of ownership in some units. It is only because our Party has the able leadership of Chairman Mao, a Marxist line and the powerful might of the dictatorship of the proletariat that we have destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao through the great proletarian cultural revolution and frustrated their attempt to restore capitalism. We must understand this characteristic of class struggle under socialist conditions, profoundly understand the tremendous reaction exerted on the system of ownership by the relations between men, fully rely on the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and consciously adjust the relations between men so as to continuously consolidate and develop the socialist system in our country.

Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us that after the question of ownership is solved in the main, special attention must be paid to adjusting the relations between men. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our Party has over the years done a great deal of work in this regard. It has carried out a series of struggles, and accumulated or created abundant historical and new experiences. These experiences include those gained in the implementation of a whole set of Marxist principles of enterprise management laid down in the "Constitution of Anshan Iron and Steel Company," in the system of cadres participation in collective productive labor, in the vast numbers of cadres and all trades and occupations taking the May 7 road indicated by Chairman Mao, in the educated youth going to the mountain and rural areas, in selecting cadres from among workers and peasants with practical experience, in holding study classes for worker-peasant cadres, in the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant taking the road of training technicians from among its workers, and in the educational revolution in Chaoyang Agricultural College where students "come from and return to communes." Summing up these experiences means it is necessary to adhere to the Party's basic line, bring into full play the dynamic role of the socialist superstructure in consolidating and developing the socialist economic base, restrict bourgeois rights under the dictatorship of the proletariat, do away with the idea of bourgeois rights, and warmheartedly support the new things that are conducive to gradually narrowing the three major differences and that contain the rudiments of communism. Today, in studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, we should closely link our study with the current class struggle, do a better job in upholding and developing these experiences which have proved effective in practice, and continue to look for suitable ways to further restrict bourgeois rights and adjust the relations between men.

Our experience has proved that to restrict bourgeois rights, we must resolutely do away with the idea of bourgeois rights and expand the dissemination of communist ideas. The idea of bourgeois rights is the reflection of bourgeois right in the ideological sphere and serves to protect bourgeois rights. Therefore, to criticize and do away with the idea of bourgeois rights is in itself a restriction of bourgeois rights.

The more thoroughly the idea of bourgeois rights is done away with, the more effectively bourgeois rights will be restricted. In reforming certain economic systems, we need to conduct thorough investigations and studies and make overall plans. On questions involving current policies, we must exercise caution and prudence. But, criticizing revisionism, ridding ourselves of the reactionary world outlook of the exploiting classes, and doing away with the idea of bourgeois rights are what we must do all the time throughout the period of socialist revolution. We should strive to raise our Marxist-Leninist level and persistently and untiringly continue our work. As early as the period of democratic revolution, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: "Without any doubt, we should expand communist propaganda and strengthen the study of Marxism-Leninism. Without such propaganda and study, we not only will fail to guide the Chinese revolution toward the socialist stage in the future but will not be able to lead the current democratic revolution to victory." Chairman Mao also pointed out: "We should draw a distinction between the propaganda of the communist ideological system and social system and the practice of the new democratic program for action." In the difficult years of revolutionary war, it was precisely the revolutionary truth of Marxism-Leninism and the great and far-reaching ideal of communism that guided and encouraged our Party, army and people in overcoming countless difficulties and dangers, defeating the three major enemies, and winning nationwide victory. In the great cause of socialist revolution and construction, hundreds of thousands of advanced people with communist consciousness and many new things shining with the brilliance of communist ideas have emerged. All this is pounding powerfully at the idea of bourgeois rights. The aim of the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat now developing throughout the country is to further step up the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and expand the dissemination of communist ideas so that more people will be liberated from the narrow view of bourgeois rights, fight in unity, combat and prevent revisionism, and strengthen all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

The correct handling of the relations between the leadership and the masses is an important link in the constant adjustment of the relations between men. When the relations between the leadership and the masses are correctly handled on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, it will be relatively easy to properly handle the other relations within state enterprises and collective economic units, such as the relations between managerial and technical personnel and workers and peasants, between one section of workers and commune members and another, and so forth. To correctly handle the relations between the leadership and the masses, the key lies in the leadership implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Comrades in leading posts must especially guard against corrosion by the idea of bourgeois rights and must never forget that our power is given to us by the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the laboring people who make up over 90 percent of the population. We can use this power only to serve the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people and must not use it to do anything contrary to their interests. We must persist in taking part in collective productive labor, share the same destiny with the masses, and should never be divorced from the masses for a single moment. Many of our leading

cadres promoted from among the worker-peasant masses have seen their position changed, but they "do not look like officials after they have become officials," because they have not changed their features as laboring people. However, there are a number of comrades who, after becoming cadres, have to varying extents put on bureaucratic airs, estranging themselves from the masses, pursuing personal comfort and enjoyment and chasing after bourgeois rights. Marx and Engels solemnly declared long ago in "Communist Manifesto" that Communism is aimed at the abolition of private property." "In this revolution proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." Those who talk with relish about bourgeois rights have actually forgotten about the lofty goals of communism. They have not freed themselves from the yoke of the private ownership concept. Unless these comrades conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and transform their world outlook, they will be unable to represent the interests of the masses or lead the masses to march forward. In fact, they may become captives of the bourgeoisie. We must strive to prevent and overcome this phenomenon so that the work of transforming our thinkingthrough the study of Marxism can be carried forward for many, many years.

The worker-peasant alliance is the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Industry and agriculture are the two fundamental material production sectors in socialist society. Correctly handling the relations between workers and peasants, between town and country, and between ownership by the whole people and collective ownership has an extremely important bearing on consolidating and developing the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The socialist relations between workers and peasants and between town and country are relations of mutual support and mutual enhancement based on the socialist system of ownership. To consolidate and develop these relations, it is most important to educate the masses incessantly on socialism, criticize revisionism and capitalist tendencies and to guide them to take the socialist path. At the same time, it is necessary to administer strict socialist management over the exchange activities between the two big sectors--industry and agriculture. It is particularly important to guard against the capitalist forces in rural and urban areas colluding with one another in making use of the channels of commodity production and exchange through money to undermine the socialist economy and the worker-peasant alliance. As for the old and new bourgeois elements who try to make use of the uneven flow of commodities from one area to another and the contradictions between supply and demand to engage in speculation and amass a fortune, we must firmly strike at them according to the Party's policies.

To improve relations among enterprises is necessary in developing the national economy in a planned and proportionate way and in consolidating the socialist system of ownership. Relations among enterprises are relations of socialist cooperation under the state's unified planning. It is necessary not only to take the whole situation into consideration and bring into full play the communist style of work,but also to adhere to socialist principles, to abide by the financial system and to effect the various economic policies of the proletariat. All acts aimed at undermining state plans and amassing personal fortunes through barter trade in the name of "cooperation" are harmful to the socialist system of ownership.

If this unhealthy trend is not stopped, socialist ownership by the whole people may turn into ownership by individuals or small groups. This must be firmly opposed.

Chairman Mao taught us a long time ago that it is necessary to study some political economy. Political economy is the science on the relations of production. In the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must master the fundamental theories of Marxist political economy in close connection with the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. We must have a profound understanding of the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat in building, consolidating and developing socialist relations of production and carry through to the end the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat both in respect to the economic base and to the superstructure.

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Further Strengthen the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the Rural Areas

by

Chiang Wei-ch'ing (江渭清)*

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, May 1, 1975)

In conjunction with study of Chairman Mao's important instruction on theory, recently I made a trip to the rural areas in Chiuchiang prefecture /Kiangsi/ and investigated conditions there.

From what I saw and heard during the trip, I felt that the situation in the rural areas is an excellent one. Through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the poor and lower-middle peasants, as well as Party members and cadres, are marching on the socialist road more steadily. The collective economy of the people's communes is developing continuously and expanding, increasingly demonstrating the superiority of "largeness in size and high degree of public ownership." The socialist newborn things are growing vigorously. In many localities, thousands and thousands of cadres and commune members are vigorously engaged in harnessing rivers and building farmland in spite of rainy days, a very moving scene.

Chairman Mao's important instruction on theory has already reached the vast countryside. Everybody is studying, discussing and thinking over certain questions in the light of actual conditions. Cadres in communes, brigades and production teams are engaged in very conscientious study. They regard studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as ideological "basic construction." In the light of current class struggle, they are discussing how to combat revisionism and analyzing bourgeois rights, new bourgeois elements and the bourgeois way of life and what should be advocated or opposed. The more they study, the more enlightened they become. They say: "By studying, we get the correct orientation and the ways and means to correctly fight against certain capitalist things." Through reading and study, the cadres have made remarkable changes in their spiritual outlook and work style. In some places, the proposal has been made to compare their revolutionary spirit, stand, orientation and enthusiasm for work with those of the days of the war, land reform, the cooperativization movement and the period of the great leap forward. The number of cadres who have gone to grassroots level this spring to stay and take part in collective productive labor is greater than in any previous year. By contrasting past suffering with present happiness, the poor and lower-middle peasants note with emotion that class enemies exercised dictatorship over us in the old society, but now we are exercising dictatorship over them. If China turns revisionist, the class enemies will again exercise dictatorship over us. Some of them even shed tears as they examined their own erroneous thinking--"here is my stop." They said: "Only by studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat can we firmly maintain the leadership by the proletariat." We saw clearly there that

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* First Secretary of CCP Kiangsi Provincial Committee.

the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been integrated with the revolutionary practice of millions upon millions of people, and what a tremendous role it plays in mobilization, guidance and reform!

In short, in the rural areas "socialism is advancing triumphantly everywhere." The poor and lower-middle peasants are resolutely taking the socialist road, and most cadres are good or relatively good. This is the essence of the matter and the main current.

However, it should also be soberly noted that the struggle between the two classes and two roads remains very acute and violent in the rural areas. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Lenin said: 'Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among personnel of state organs, there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." Chairman Mao's instruction is entirely in keeping with the actual conditions prevailing in the rural areas of our country.

Although the collective economy of the people's communes characterized by "largeness in size and high degree of public ownership" has been established in the rural areas, it is nevertheless still a socialist system of public ownership in the process of development. Certain remnants of the individual economy are still retained in the field of ownership of the means of production. In mutual relations among people and in the form of distribution, more remnants and traces of the old system remain. As a result, factual inequality in income exists between individual members of the collective economy and between collective economic units, hence, the appearance of differences between rich and poor. Failure to strengthen education in ideology and to exercise restraint in policy is likely to give rise to polarization. At the same time, the existence of the commodity system and exchange by means of money constantly gives birth to spontaneous capitalist tendencies of small production and provide well-to-do and relatively well-to-do peasants with the opportunity to accumulate large amounts of money and to use it to exploit others. These things, which "are not much different from those of the old society," constitute the basis on which the ideas and habits of small producers are retained or revived. They are also the soil in which capitalism grows and develops. As far as I could see in Chiuchiang prefecture, virtually all capitalist tendencies are connected with these things.

For example, a small number of communes and brigades planted crops, not in accordance with state plans, but in a "free planting" way. They plant whatever earns them the most money. A few of the communes and brigades allowed private development of sideline occupations and handicrafts, with the result that "each cares for himself" and "money is made by private individuals while fields of the collective are neglected." Still some, not many, communes and brigades failed to correctly handle the relations among the state, the collective and the individual in accordance Party policies,and by "putting workpoints in command" and "distributing and eating all,"weakened the socialist collective economy. What is most serious and brings about the most adverse influence is "free trade."

Some people seriously affected by spontaneous capitalist tendencies not only demanded the right to freely dispose of a part of the collective and household sideline products, which are not subject to state restriction, but also wanted to infinitely enlarge this right. They did not fulfill state plans nor set aside reserves but sold products at high prices through free trade channels. By so doing, they actually subjected the production plans, distribution of products and labor management to control by the law of value, providing the ground for capitalist restoration activities. Lenin pointed out: "Freedom to trade means going back to capitalism." This is absolutely true.

We discovered during our investigation that while old landlords and bourgeois elements have not ceased their restoration activities, certain individuals in those localities seriously affected by capitalist tendencies have become or are becoming new bourgeois elements. This realization made us better appreciate Lenin's thesis: "In the course of revolution, conditions often arise in which landlords and capitalists have been swept away, but new capitalists will shortly appear from among the rich peasants, well-to-do peasants and speculators, and they usually oppress the workers more ruthlessly than the old landlords and capitalists."

Owing to the existence of bourgeois rights, commodity system and exchange by means of money and due to the spontaneous forces of small producers surrounding the proletariat on all sides, there are also some personnel in state organs who have followed the bourgeois life style. Taking advantage of their positions, they have made private gain at the expense of the public, borrowed money from public funds and spent money extravagently. Some accepted illicit money, became gluttonous and lazy and degenerated into new bourgeois elements. Exploiting some power they hold within the Party, state organs and enterprises, they work for capitalist restoration and have actually become bourgeois agents. Life itself tells us that large-scale speculative activities under the dictatorship of the proletariat involve some cadres in one way or another. If the leadership of the socialist collective economy is not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the poor and lower-middle peasants, the socialist economy, though it will remain as such in name, may actually degenerate into a "collective capitalist organization," like the collective farm in today's Soviet Union. This is very dangerous.

Summarizing what we saw, we reached the following understanding: The general situation prevailing in the rural areas is excellent, but at the same time the struggle between restoration by the bourgeoisie and counter-restoration by the proletariat is acute. It manifests itself as a struggle for and against restriction of bourgeois rights, a struggle for and against reform of spontaneous capitalist tendencies among small producers and the force of habit, and a struggle for and against occupation of positions in the rural areas including ideological and cultural positions. Pervading and influencing one another, struggles in these respects constitute a complex scene of the struggle between the two classes and two roads in the rural areas. In order to enable the proletariat to defeat the bourgeoisie and socialism to defeat capitalism in the struggle, we must criticize revisionism and exercise all-round dictatorship over the

bourgeoisie in the political, economic, ideological and cultural spheres. Otherwise, "if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up a capitalist system."

To exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the rural areas, it is necessary to rely on the poor and lower-middle peasants, who constitute the majority of the peasants and who are opponents of all exploiting systems and classes and active supporters of the socialist road and collective economy. We must rely on this class to launch the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment in the countryside during the entire historical stage of socialism. This is the class line of our Party.

"Capitalist tendencies among well-to-do peasants are serious." According to our investigation findings in a brigade, among the 21 well-to-do peasant families, 10 were seriously affected by spontaneous capitalist tendencies. Small in number, they have great potential and are devout worshipers of "Marshal Lord Chao" /God of wealth in Chinese folklore/ and most enthusiastic in capitalist activities. It is necessary to struggle against these spontaneous capitalist tendencies among well-to-do middle peasants. Otherwise, they will run rampant. However, the purpose of struggle is to achieve unity and to guide them to join the poor and lower-middle peasants in taking the socialist road toward common affluence. Well-to-do middle peasants are a wavering stratum. Though they yearn for the capitalist road, that road is blocked. The result is that only a few people can climb onto the bourgeois position while the majority are still poverty-stricken and bankrupt. For this very reason, they wavered on agricultural cooperation and chose to "wait and see." However, when the poor and lower-middle peasants had taken the socialist road and the collective economy became increasingly dominant, they finally chose the road of agricultural cooperation. Today, so long as we continue to conduct socialist education among them and criticize the capitalist tendencies, they will continue to travel along the socialist road.

If we conscientiously implement the Party's class line for the rural areas, rely on the poor and lower-middle peasants who are resolutely taking the socialist road, unite with other middle peasants and strive to win over all allies whom we can win over, then we will be able to unite over 95 percent of the masses and over 95 percent of the cadres and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against "all social forces and groups which resist socialist revolution and are hostile to and sabotage socialist construction." We must concentrate on attacking a handful of class enemies. As for the capitalist influence existing among a section of cadres and masses, we should solve the problem mainly through strengthening education, enlightening and enhancing their socialist consciousness and raising their Marxist-Leninist level. This is a piece of ideological-political work that must be carried on for a long time.

The situation in many places indicates: "All problems can be solved once class struggle is grasped." It is not difficult to identify and solve problems in the countryside so long as we firmly grasp the dictatorship of the proletariat as the main theme, deeply criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, revisionism, the bourgeoisie, the doctrines of Confucius and

Mencius and the ideologies of all exploiting classes, strengthen socialist education, conscientiously conduct investigation and study, practice the correct line and policies and enhance our unity in dealing with our enemies. What confronts the leadership at all levels now is the question of whether or not we dare to grasp class struggle. I feel that mentally some of our comrades are still far from meeting the requirements of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Some comrades fear everything. They fear that "for one year of movement, it will take 3 years to be exonerated." The situation in some places in Kiangsi demonstrates that, out of counter-revolutionary needs, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique deliberately confused the two different types of contradictions, undermined various proletarian policies of the Party, and had attacked some of the masses and cadres who should not be attacked at all. We should exonerate these comrades in accordance with individual conditions, and this is the attitude of being responsible to the Party and the people. Now, Lin Piao's bourgeois headquarters has fallen. "A fall into the pit is a gain in our wit." Gaining profound experience and lessons from this, our cadres will be able to do better in implementing the Party's basic line, criticizing revisionism, correctly distinguishing between and handling two different types of contradictions and learning how to carry out ideological-political work among the masses. We must, step by step, raise our Marxist-Leninist level in the course of prolonged revolutionary practice so as to further improve our work. What reason do we have to fear this or that?

Some people dare not grasp class struggle out of fear of bourgeois factionalism. They are afraid that factionalism will make trouble whenever they grasp class struggle. This view, too, is erroneous. Bourgeois factionalism is a bourgeois way of thinking. The higher the proletarian uprightness and the deeper the criticism of revisionism, the smaller the market for bourgeois factionalism. We should trust the majority. We should believe that under the general goal of exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, all workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and other working people who do not want to suffer again, all communists who are determined to dedicate their lives to the fight for the realization of communism, and all comrades who do not want to see China turn revisionist are definitely able to do away with their differences and unite on the basis of Party principles in dealing with their common enemies. A commercial bureau in a certain hsien in Chiuchiang prefecture was in the past so seriously afflicted with bourgeois factionalism that its members failed to speak with one voice or act in concert. But its features changed drastically after they studied Chairman Mao's important instruction on theory. Its leading cadres seriously united together in leading the masses. This shows that problems can definitely be solved so long as our leading cadres persistently adhere to the Party spirit, prevent themselves from being carried away by bourgeois factionalism, and do more work. Naturally, there may be a tiny handful of people who still want to make trouble. But that doesn't matter at all. If they continue to make trouble, they will divorce themselves from the masses and commit mistakes, because their action runs counter to the general orientation of the current class struggle.

Also, some comrades dare not grasp class struggle because they fear they will not be able to define the distinction between restriction of bourgeois rights and correct implementation of the basic policies on rural communes at the present stage. We believe that it is necessary to draw a clear line of distinction in ideology and policy, but we should not, on account of this, adopt the wait-and-see attitude. The series of rural policies laid down by the Party for the present stage reflects the requirements of the Party's basic line and fundamentally corresponds with the level of the developing productive forces and the level of mass political awareness. For instance, the economic system of collective ownership in the rural people's communes at the present stage generally takes the form of three-level ownership with the production team as the accounting basis, and the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" is practiced in the distribution of consumer goods. Provided the development and absolute predominance of the collective economy of the people's commune are insured, people's commune members may farm small plots and engage in limited household sideline production, rural trade fairs under state leadership and control may be retained, and so on. These principles must be firmly implemented for a rather long time. Chairman Mao points out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so on. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." This also tells us that we should restrict and not immediately abolish those things which "differ little from those in the old society." However, since these things are not communist, we should see their "defects" and "shortcomings" and understand that they should be properly restricted and not expanded because they are still soil engendering capitalism. Therefore, we must effectively implement present-stage policies, "make vigorous efforts to propagate communist ideas," and support and give full play to the communist spirit of the broad masses in doing away with the "narrow vision" of bourgeois rights. We must pay attention to the relative stability of policies in a given period, and at the same time should not confine ourselves to the "framework" of bourgeois rights. Rather, we should create conditions to gradually increase the communist factors and enthusiastically foster new socialist things. The present problem is that some people hinder the struggle against capitalism, not because they persistently implement present-stage policies but, on the contrary, because they run counter to the present-stage policies, relax their efforts to struggle against capitalism, and thus extend bourgeois rights. For instance, they do not implement state plans, and instead engage in "free farming"; they do not sell their farm products to the state according to state regulations, and instead engage in "free trade"; and they go against the rules and willfully expand the private plots. Which of these acts does not violate the existing policies? To say nothing of corruption, theft and speculation. We must struggle against such capitalist tendencies every year, every month and every day. While studying theory, one hsien proposed to adhere to state plans and oppose free planting of crops; to persist in making overall arrangements for labor and oppose free use of labor; to persist in controlling hilly areas for afforestation and oppose free felling of bamboo and timber trees; and to persistently fulfill the tasks assigned by the state and oppose free marketing of products. This is the correct attitude one should take in actively launching attack against capitalist tendencies.

These findings that I gained from my study and investigation are still rather crude and just mark a beginning. For more than 10 years, Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught the high- and middle-ranking Party cadres, first and foremost members of the Central Committee, that "it is necessary to conscientiously read and study according to their different levels and have a good grasp of Marxism." Moreover, he has asked us to attach importance to investigation and study. What I have done in this respect is still far from meeting the demands set forth by Chairman Mao. I feel that some basic-level cadres have done better than some of us leading cadres. The socialist revolution is deepening constantly, the all-round proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie has set new and higher demands, and we should continue to deepen and develop our understanding of some problems. To march at the head of revolutionary movements and lead the masses to advance, we must conscientiously study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works. In particular, we should earnestly study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat according to reality and transform the objective as well as the subjective world. I myself have this experience: when one studies theory and carries out investigation and study better, one's work is more in conformity with Chairman Mao's line; on the other hand, when one is not doing so well in study and in investigation, one will deviate from Chairman Mao's line and make this or that mistake. Chairman Mao says: "It is necessary to master Marxist theory and apply it, master it for the sole purpose of applying it." He also says: "The only way to know conditions is to make social investigations, to investigate the conditions of each social class in real life." From now on, I am willing to join the cadres and masses in seriously reading and studying, penetratingly criticizing revisionism, carrying out investigation and research, and summing up experiences in order to clearly understand the dictatorship of the proletariat on the plane of integrating theory with practice, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and better fulfill the tasks assigned me by the Party.

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The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Renegade Lin Piao

by

the Mass Criticism Group of Peking University and Tsinghua University

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Ten years ago, following the fall of Khrushchev, the despicable renegade from the international communist movement, Chairman Mao wrote this noted passage: "The Chinese revolution would not have succeeded if it only had teachers by positive example and none from the negative side. One could not be regarded as a thoroughgoing dialectical materialist if he treated lightly the role played by teachers of negative example." To the revolutionary people, Lin Piao, the renegade from the dictatorship of the proletariat, resembles Khrushchev as an equally marvellous teacher by negative example. Today, at a time when we are studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, greater efforts should be made in repudiating Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line as well as various absurdities of his making, so that poisonous weeds may be turned into fertilizer and the role of this teacher by negative example brought into full play.

The criminal activities of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique represent not only the restoration wishes of the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes, but also the demands of the new bourgeois elements to usurp power. And it is precisely on this point that it is of vital significance for us to deepen our understanding of the laws that govern class struggle in socialist society and to get clear about the question of exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. The historical experience of the international communist movement tells us that after the proletariat seizes state power, the danger of capitalist restoration stems, internationally, from imperialist aggression and subversion and, domestically, from the overthrown but not yet destroyed landlord and bourgeois classes as well as from new bourgeois elements engendered under socialist conditions. Overthrown exploiting classes are always dreaming of staging a comeback, and we should never relax our vigilance. It has not been a rare occurrence for a victorious proletariat to have eventually to relinquish its power under the attacks launched by the old bourgeoisie in collusion with foreign reactionary forces. The Paris Commune of 1871 and the Hungarian Revolution of 1919 were bloody lessons. However, once the state power of the young proletariat has initially held its ground, especially when the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been basically completed, the newly engendered bourgeoisie will increasingly pose a greater danger as the socialist revolution pushes itself further on. In the Soviet Union, 14 imperialist robbers armed to the teeth attempted to have the new-born Red regime created by Lenin strangled in the cradle; the bandits under Kolchak and Denikin spread the counter-revolutionary flames across Soviet Russia; the fascist Nazist generals also viewed the penthouse of the Kremlin with binoculars. However, they all met with ignominious defeat one by one. But the agents of the new bourgeoisie, namely the Soviet revisionist

renegade clique, against whom Lenin had repeatedly called for vigilance, have succeeded where the old bourgeoisie failed--subverting the world's first socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. A most important aspect of enforcing total proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie is to wage a struggle against the new bourgeoisie and to gradually eliminate the soil giving rise to it. For this reason, Chairman Mao has repeatedly emphasized the protracted and complicated nature of class struggle during the socialist period and the danger of capitalist restoration. Recently, he has again reminded us: "What did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to make this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This must be made known to the whole nation." He also pointed out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so on. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." These important instructions of Chairman Mao's have developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and taught us to intensify the all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, restrict bourgeois right, and gradually create the conditions that will deny the bourgeoisie existence or re-emergence, and to eventually abolish classes. However, Lin Piao, while protecting the old bourgeoisie, did his utmost to have bourgeois right extended and new bourgeois forces nurtured and expanded, and, on their behalf, launched a frenzied attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat. This fully exposed him as a renegade from the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin deeply revealed the basic content of bourgeois right in his book "The State and Revolution." He wrote: "'Bourgeois right' recognizes the means of production as private property." What Lin Piao did to promote bourgeois right was primarily shown in his efforts to maintain and reinstate the private ownership of the means of production.

After nationwide liberation, we confiscated bureaucratic capital and abolished the imperialist and feudal systems of ownership. By 1956, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce was basically completed. These were important steps directed at gradual abolition of bourgeois right in the realm of ownership. Lin Piao, political representative of the landlord and bourgeois classes, was unwilling to accept the changes brought about in the system of ownership in our country. He cried aloud that among the various kinds of relations of production in the world, "we should apply those that can increase production." Both in China and in the world at large, historical and current experiences have proved that the capitalist system of ownership is already "declining like the sun setting behind the western hills," shackling the development of the productive forces, but that the socialist system of public ownership is ever rising and far more superior, "allowing productive forces to develop at a pace unconceived in the old society." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") In China the socialist system of public ownership has become dominant. Under the condition where the differences between two kinds of system of ownership have been clearly shown, Lin Piao had the nerve to call for choosing one of the two at random. While viciously attacking our prosperous socialist fatherland by asserting that "the national economy is stagnant," he greatly praised the decadent

and declining capitalist system. Did he not clearly reveal his evil intentions? He wanted to fully restore bourgeois right in the ownership of the means of production. What had been transformed should be reverted back to its original form; and what had not yet been transformed should be preserved like pearls so as to retain and expand the economic position for the growth of capitalist forces.

But, "socialism is advancing victoriously everywhere, leaving all obstacles behind it." Contrary to Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary wishes, China's socialist system of public ownership, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, has been steadily consolidated and developed through struggle, while the domain of private ownership has been constantly restricted and shrunk. To Lin Piao, the renegade from the dictatorship of the proletariat, this was really a great disaster. He could not help revealing his counter-revolutionary hatred and instructed someone to write this sinister passage: "State operation is no better than collective operation, collective operation is no better than individual operation, and individual operation is no better than illicit operation ( )". The socialist system of public ownership should be reverted back to that of private ownership, and in private ownership "illicit operation" is the best. This wonderful confession spoke for Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary ambition. "Illicit operation" refers to new bourgeois upstarts reaping huge profits by illegal means. By devoting all his counter-revolutionary feelings to "illicit operation," Lin Piao hoped that new bourgeois elements would grow like poisonous germs after rain. All this unmasked him and clearly told people what kind of ownership Lin Piao wanted to establish!

A host of facts show that bourgeois representatives bent on changing the socialist system of ownership usually refrain from openly hanging the signboard of capitalist private ownership, but rather would resort to the tactics of the Monkey King worming into the belly of his adversary in taking over the leadership of economic units. Therefore, in socialist society, merely looking at the name or the signboard of an enterprise or unit would not be helpful in determining its nature, but more attention should be paid to its content and essense in order to find out which class holds the leadership and what kind of line and policies are carried out. Lin Piao devised the so-called "general line of winning and maintaining the nation by cherishing the people and governing the country through developing production." This "general line" called for "cherishing" those old bourgeoisie and refraining from suppressing the reactionary activities carried out by certain people among them; it called for concentrating on production and ignoring politics so as to allow new bourgeois elements to grow freely. It was a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in every respect. Its objective was to oppose the basic line of our Party and turn our Party into a "production party," "a party of the whole people," so that we wouldn't pay any attention to classes and class struggle nor to the ideological and political line but allow those new and old bourgeois elements to do whatever they wished until the leadership of socialist economic units was usurped and the nature of the system of ownership was changed by them. This is exactly what the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has done in

subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism.

The mutual relationship between people in production and the form of distribution are determined by the system of ownership, but they also react on the system of ownership and play a decisive role under certain conditions. Under socialist conditions, whether or not bourgeois right in these two aspects of relations of production is restricted, and whether or not the idea of bourgeois right is criticized, has a direct bearing on the consolidation and advance on the socialist system of ownership. Here Lin Piao also sang anti-proletarian tunes.

In our country, the public ownership of the means of production has been basically realized, and the laboring people have become the masters of society. Between them a brand new kind of socialist relationship has taken shape. But, bourgeois right still exists to a serious extent in the mutual relationships among people, and the idea of bourgeois right is still constantly eroding people's minds. That is why Chairman Mao has always paid great attention to educating the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole nation with the world outlook of scientific communism, with the spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly, so that we may consciously resist erosion by the idea of bourgeois right. Nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought, Lei Feng-type personalities have sprung up everywhere in our socialist society as the virtue of "total unselfishness" has become a general social style. Lin Piao, this sinister and sly counter-revolutionary double-dealer, verbally referred to the need to serve the people, but actually he hid his real self in a dark corner advocating the most decadent and reactionary world outlook of the exploiting classes. He wrote: "The relations between people--selfishness," "Plunder has been the rule of the animal world, and we should learn from this." A principal member of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique also had this to say: "'People view each other as if they were wolves and jackels,' 'If there were no cheating, there would be no business deals.'" How naked! So, the real motto of Lin Piao and company in approaching relations between people was "wolves," "plunder," "cheating" and "deals"!

Be it "selfishness," "wolves" or "plunder," it was no invention by Lin Piao and company. Lenin pointed out: "The principle on which the old society was based is this: if you do not rob others, they will rob you." ("The Tasks of the Youth Leagues") As regards the relationship between people, the credo of the bourgeoisie has always been "big fish eat small fish," that everything was done for selfish reasons. Their philosophers have long stated: "People act like wolves to each other." Engels hit the nail on the head when he exposed the relationship among people in capitalist society. He pointed out: this principle of the strong devouring the weak with ultra-egoism as the core is "Darwin's struggle for survival applied to society from the world of nature in a much more frenzied form." ("Anti-Dühring")

It is not at all surprising that Lin Piao and his accomplices should have secretly and fanatically trumpeted "cheating" and "making deals." Commodities are the cells of capitalist society. In capitalist society,

everything is turned into a commodity, and "there is no other nexus between man and man than naked interest, than callous 'cash payment'." ("Communist Manifesto") Obviously, the relations between people in capitalist society are no more than commodity transaction relations. In extolling plunder, cheating and making deals as principles and by extending bourgeois right in the relationship of people, Lin Piao and his gang vainly attempted to turn the socialist relationship among people into the capitalist relationship of dealing in commodities, so that socialist public ownership might be changed into private ownership in the interest of engaging in ruthless plunder and exploitation. This reflected nothing else but the demands of a handful of unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists as well as new bourgeois elements.

In order to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lin Piao and his gang even went so far as to have the capitalist principle of commodity exchange brought into the political life of the Party and the state. In the eyes of Lin Piao, a worshipper of commodities, politics is also a big deal. As he used to say himself, this is because "once political work is done well, there will be big profits." To him, "keeping politics in mind forever" was only another term for "keeping big profits in mind forever." And it was with this capitalist principle of commodity exchange that the Lin Piao anti-Party clique made counter-revolutionary political deals--if you swear loyalty to me, I'll see to it that you get a promotion. By so doing, they set up a mountain stronghold, organized a sinister headquarters, and rigged up "fleets," big and small. They were a gang of counter-revolutionary political speculators. According to this principle, Lin Piao proclaimed: "Favors are greater than the laws of kings." His so-called "favors" were actually information about capitalist commodity exchange. With this Lin Piao urged the new bourgeois elements to wantonly violate the discipline of the Party and the laws of the state so as to pave the way for their capitalist restoration. And is it precisely under the influence of such fallacies of Lin Piao's that some people still regard "favors as greater than the laws of kings?" These people forget the principles of the Party and the interests of the revolution and finger noisily the beads of their abacuses as they conduct commodity transactions. If they persist in their errors, they are bound to fall into the mire of new bourgeois elements one day.

Here we may pause to think: if Lin Piao's principles of "selfishness," "plunder as the rule," and "if there were no cheating there would be no deals" were used to direct the relationship between people, what then would become of our Party and state, as well as the socialist comradely relations that exist between us? Answers to these questions can be found in another place of the contemporary world, that is, the present-day Soviet Union under the rule of the new bourgeoisie. There, a handful of party lords and bureaucrats, big and small, of the new bourgeoisie are plundering the broad masses of Soviet workers and peasants like wolves. There we see everywhere the grim and merciless reality of cash payments as all trades and professions adhere to such capitalist principles as "if there were no cheating there would be no deals." There the world's first socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has become a social-imperialist country with world hegemony as the basic aspect of its foreign policy. There is practically no distinction between them and the

old colonialist bandits in history as their markings "wolves," "plunder," "cheating" and "deals" are clearly stamped on their banners.

In our country, the principle "to each according to his work" applies to both ownership of the whole people and collective ownership, and bourgeois right is still dominant in distribution. It is imperative that restrictions be imposed on bourgeois right embodied in the principle "to each according to his work" when it is being applied. But Lin Piao did all he could to recommend the Soviet revisionists' fallacy that "material incentives are still essential," to be applied as a "formula." Starting from the principle of material incentives, he claimed that concerning the "two factors," the role of man and that of technology, during the production process, "the most important thing is treatment (salary and status)." He also instructed people to find out the arts of government of the exploiting classes from a pile of old papers: "T'ai Kung says: A thin fishing line and a clear bait, small fish would fall for it; an intertwined line and a flavored bait, a fish of medium-size would fall for it; a thick line and a large bait, the big fish would be falling for it"; "therefore, to fish with a good bait, you'll have a good catch; to win over people with good pay, you'll have people doing their utmost for you." And to that he added his personal comments: "The same is true of the principle of wages," "the mighty role of wages," etc. Taking material incentives as the formula, using wages and salaries as the bait, these are what Lin Piao regarded as "basic principles" in extending bourgeois right in respect to distribution.

Whose formula is "material incentives" after all? It is the formula of revisionism, a bourgeois formula in every sense. Capitalists are the personification of capital, and to them, the greatest impetus comes from surplus value, profit. "Their purpose of life is to make money, and while they seem to know of no other happiness than that of getting rich quick, they also seem to know of no other grief than that of losing money." (Engels, "The Condition of the Working Class in England") In "Capital" Marx referred to a passage which provided a vivid sketch of just how "amazingly effective" "material incentives" are to the bourgeoisie: "Once there is suitable profit, capital becomes daring. If there is a ten percent profit, its use will be assured anywhere; if there is a twenty percent profit, it will become exceedingly active; if there is a fifty percent profit, it will be prepared to take risks; for a profit as much as one hundred percent, it will go as far as to trample underfoot all laws on earth; and if there is a three hundred percent profit, it will be willing to commit any crime, even at the risk of being sent to the gallows." The whole of bourgeois economics takes "material incentives" as its basic principle. In extolling this moribund stuff as a "formula," Lin Piao wanted to use capitalist principles to encourage people to vie for fame and fortunes, to develop capitalist "initiative," and to poison the minds of the masses, the young in particular, in an attempt to transform the proletarian policy "grasp revolution, promote production, promote work and preparedness against war" into a revisionist policy "roubles is the locomotive" adopted by the Soviet revisionists so as to foster and develop new bourgeois forces.

Actually, the fuss Lin Piao and his followers were making over the wage issue under the guise of "to each according to his work" was nothing but a plot. What they wanted was distribution according to capital and power. They were far from being satisfied with their legitimate income and were always ready to get more by following in the footsteps of reactionary ruling classes in history. Lin Piao and his gang did their best to advocate the policy "appoint them to high positions, give them high salaries, and vest them with great power," in an effort to bring up a batch of new bourgeois elements with "high positions," "high salaries," and "great power," so that they might become counter-revolutionary backbone elements to push the line of restoration. Lin Piao himself took advantage of the power he held to get "high emoluments" in a variety of illegal ways. He was not only a counter-revolutionary careerist politically, but was also an extremely rotten big corruptor and thief.

Lin Piao used wages and treatment as bait to be attached to his counter-revolutionary fishing rod, showing fully that wages and treatment are not in themselves merely economic but political matters. For the purpose of consolidating its power, the proletariat should regard it as an imperative need to have bourgeois right in distribution restricted while carrying out a tireless struggle against the idea of bourgeois right so that the effects of the bourgeois way of life on workers, government personnel and Party members may be resisted and checked. We should see through Lin Piao's conspiracy of using wages as bait and never become a prisoner of bourgeois right. We should set up the great ideals of communism and work with the greatest effort for the future of our fatherland and for the world revolution.

New bourgeois elements have an exceedingly greedy appetite, and they are not merely after economic interests. There is no doubt that they also try to take over political power. They understand that so long as the proletariat holds political power, their shameful acts to extend bourgeois right and to pursue privileges without bound will be contained by the dictatorship of the proletariat, that their corruption and theft, speculation and racketeering will certainly be sanctioned, and that they can lead a life of debauchery and extreme extravagance only in dark chambers, and secretly. Once their real features are exposed and their criminal hands are caught in the act, the dictatorship of the proletariat will completely smash the hideout they took years to build. Therefore, like all exploiting classes of old, they cannot but direct all their counter-revolutionary class hatred at the dictatorship of the proletariat. What Lin Piao had said about "if you don't have political power, you lose everything" was a clear indication of the sorrow of the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes as well as the lessons they had learned from defeat. What Lin Piao had said about "once you have political power, you have everything" also fully exposes the greedy desire of the new bourgeois elements to swallow all social wealth at one gulp, reflecting their wild ambition to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, establish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and turn on the green light for the flooding of capitalism.

The overthrown exploiting classes always want to turn their hopes for restoration into action for restoration. They will seize power when conditions are ripe. The deep hatred harbored by the old exploiters who "lost everything because they lost political power" and the wild ambition of the new bourgeois elements who yearn for the day when they will "have everything once they have political power" gave the Lin Piao anti-Party clique a fugitive-type fanaticism on its way to seize power. They tossed out the so-called fallacy that only Lin Piao could "directly command" the army. They attempted to seize the supreme power of the Party and state by repeatedly opposing Chairman Mao's instructions on not to set up the Chairman of the State. After the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat they launched at the Second Plenary Session of the 9th Party Central Committee was smashed, they cooked up "The Outline of Project '571'" and engineered an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat in an attempt to murder Chairman Mao, great leader of the proletariat. All this shows: under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the struggle between the bourgeoisie conspiring to seize power and the proletariat with all its counter measures to foil such an attempt is a great class battle, one of life and death.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique ran wild for a while before it came to its shameful end. This process reflects the decadent and feeble nature of the class they represented. All reactionaries tend to take an idealist view of the objective situation. In the plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup, the "Outline of 'Project 571'," Lin Piao and company proclaimed arrogantly: "History has placed the leadership" on their "fleets." How anxious these representatives of new bourgeois elements were to charge to the front and play counter-revolutionary commanders to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat! But the frantic activities of the "new" bourgeoisie in opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat were but an indication of the death-bed struggle of the old order. Its moribund and feeble nature could not but dictate that it not only had to pick up the ideological weapon of all declining and reactionary classes in the history of our country--the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius,but also had to have international imperialism as backstage boss. Because it shared the common class basis of the new bourgeoisie and because revisionism is an international trend of thought, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique naturally had to fall into the arms of social-imperialism and lean on the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Unfortunately all this did not help in the least the Lin Piao anti-Party clique's counter-revolutionary endeavor, and it was bound to suffer blows from the dictatorship of the proletariat. An example of historical inevitability like this could not be more penetrating.

"There is no end to struggle,
And old musical scores will continue to be played."

The counter-revolutionary "fleets" of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique have sunk. However, members of the overthrown exploiting classes are still around, irreconciled to their defeat. The soil breeding new bourgeois elements still exists, and representatives of new and old bourgeois elements like Lin Piao will still appear. The struggle over whether to consolidate or subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat

will continue for a long time. In both the economic base and the superstructure, we should persist in carrying on revolution and gradually create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. We have full confidence in the future, that the light of the dictatorship of the proletariat will shine over the whole world when "the International will certainly become a reality"!

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A Group of Short Commentaries (Five Pieces)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, May 1, 1975)

Do College Graduates "Suffer" When They Become Peasants?

by

Ko I (葛义)

Every new socialist thing usually gives rise to controversy the moment it is born, with some favoring it and others opposing it, and there are some who fail for the time being to see the reason for its existence. Chaoyang Agricultural College adopts the practice of sending its graduates back to the communes where they have come from; this is another new thing on the educational front. Many colleges are now studying and extending this precious experience. Most college students from rural areas feel it is both glorious and necessary for them to return to the rural areas after graduation, regarding this as a new step in narrowing the three major differences. There are, however, a small number of comrades who do not see things in this way, saying "I'll suffer for this. If I only knew it earlier, I would not have gone to college in the first place."

This poses one question: What is our aim of going to college? If it is to learn the techniques to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to narrow the three big differences, then the question of "suffering" would not arise when college graduates from rural areas return there to till the land. But if our aim is to get a better job and higher pay, we would certainly think that doing so is "suffering." Go to school in order to become an official and work for money--this is an old concept left behind from the old society, the evil root planted by the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Swayed by an old concept like this, bourgeois intellectuals who came from the old society would take knowledge as private property, as commodity to be "sold at a high price." "I am for sale! And to those offering the highest price!" These cries of Confucius echo in these people's minds. "Suffering" means nothing but "depreciation" of knowledge, that it cannot be sold at an ideal price. Are those who complain of "suffering" not on a par with bourgeois intellectuals? Are they not poisoned by the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius? Is the concept of private ownership of knowledge not making mischief in their heads?

We should do more thinking about this: How has the right for children of the laboring people to go to college come by? Before the liberation, the last thing the laboring people--brutally exploited by landlords and capitalists and suffering from hunger--did was to dream of going to college. After the liberation, under the rule of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line on education, children of the vast masses of the laboring people were still driven away from the door of college. It is only after the great proletarian cultural revolution that children of the laboring people have gained the right to be assured of going to college. This is a matter for great joy. Everything we have--including our knowledge--

is given by the Party and the people. The Party and the people, who train us, expect us to become laborers with socialist consciousness and culture and to return to the midst of workers and peasants to better serve the people and contribute to the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism. If we forget all this but regard our knowledge as a commodity for which we demand a high price from the Party and the people, and if we put our personal interests above those of the Party and the people, do we not forget what we are and let the worker-peasant masses down?

To be a genuine revolutionary, one should not care for personal gain or loss. In the raging war years, our revolutionary forerunners led a dangerous and hard life. Sometimes they did not have even a mouthful of rice or a single grain of salt. Yet hardship and death did not matter to them for their thought was on liberating the whole of China. When did they ever think that doing so was "suffering"? Countless revolutionary martyrs laid down their lives for the communist cause, but never for a moment did they ever think that doing so was suffering, and suffering greatly. When we think of the noble state of mind of our revolutionary forerunners, how insignificant the idea of "suffering" is!

For college graduates to become peasants is an important measure to restrict bourgeois right, one of the ways leading to the abolition of the three major differences. In taking the first step in this struggle, we should be pathbreakers. Never before in the world have college graduates become peasants, but we can beat out a path with millions and millions of such people leading the way. If a person who goes to college entertains the thought that he should not become a worker or peasant again, when can we narrow the differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between mental and physical labor? In this way, with more and more people going to college, the three major differences will surely be widened more and more. And with classes, class contradictions and class struggle still existing in socialist society, extending the three major differences and extending bourgeois right will naturally lead to the restoration of capitalism. Thus, the time will come when we the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants will not only again lose the right to education but will again be oppressed and exploited politically and economically. So, when pondering over the question of suffering or not suffering, we must go beyond the small circle of personal interests and proceed from the basic interests of the proletariat and the laboring people before we can get at the essence of the matter.

It must be noted that in society some people describe it as an act of "injustice" for college graduates to become peasants. Stirring up wind and waves, they are saying that "it is useless to go to school," that for college graduates to become peasants is like "using an artillery piece to shoot at mosquitoes--using big talent for small purposes," and so on and so forth. These people seem to care very much for us, but in fact they try to harm us. Some are simply sabotage acts by the class enemies who expect us to keep the old ideas in our heads, treat us as spiritual aristocrats and attempt to drag us into the water. We should resolutely struggle against them. If we succumb to these cries of scorn and slander and subscribe to them, we are in fact dazzled by the fancy world of commodity and money exchanges and that sort of thing, and will

be tricked by the class enemies like Lin Piao who induce us with "official posts, emoluments, favors." We would let down the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and be unworthy of the name of worker-peasant-soldier student. We must heighten our vigilance all the time.

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We Should Hold the Key in This Way

by

Hsiao Ming (晓明)

In a brigade recently, when the brigade and team cadres went to the commune office to attend a meeting, the Party branch, under the pretext of "guaranteeing their prompt attendance," decided to supply them with food from the collective grain reserve. A storekeeper of one production team did not agree to the decision. He kept the key of the granary and firmly refused to open it for grain to be taken out. Some people supported him in doing so, saying he did the right thing. Others accused him of "not going along." Instantly, this incident became the talk of the village.

Did the storekeeper in question do the right thing? We say yes, for he should hold the key in this way.

The collective grain reserve is built up through the diligent labor of the broad masses of commune members in accordance with Chairman Mao's great strategic policy "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural calamities, and do everything for the people." This has vital significance for the consolidation and development of the socialist collective economy. Using reserve grain at will undermines socialism; for cadres to take possession of collective property in the name of public duty is a kind of bourgeois style of living. How can you "go along" with them? Would not doing so encourage the growth of undesirable tendencies? Refusing to "go along" with acts that are in violation of the people's interests, and persisting in proletarian principles, is a fine quality each and every revolutionary comrade should possesses.

A storekeeper in a production team is charged with the duty of looking after stocks, keeping the key and guarding the door of the warehouse well. However, how to keep this key and for whom the door of the warehouse should be opened is no simple matter. A key handed to you is symbolic of a part of power entrusted to you by the Party and the people. It is our obligation to be utterly responsible to the Party and the people, to keep the key well for the proletariat and to guard the door well for socialism. This storekeeper is commendable because, while he is holding a small key, he is thinking of the proletarian power, and while he is looking after a warehouse, he is thinking of the whole of the socialist economic base. He resolutely refuses to open the "capitalist" door, and he perseveres in struggle, never conceding half a step or wavering only slightly. Such is an attitude of utter responsibility to the revolutionary cause.

Each and every revolutionary cadre of ours is assigned to a definite post and holds a "key" handed by the Party and the people. We should pause to think: How should we apply this "key"? On this question many comrades stick to revolutionary principles and work for the interests of the Party and the people. This is an important reason why our proletarian dictatorship can be consolidated and developed. But it must also be seen that some people cannot properly keep the "key" handed by the Party and the people.

Some cadres who have much higher positions and far greater responsibilities than this storekeeper, however, lack what he has: the spirit of firmly sticking to principles and daring to struggle. They either turn away from things that apparently contravene Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the Party's principles and policies and thus evade the contradiction or ignore them altogether. For them, the question of for whom the "key" is kept and the "door" opened can be debated. Very often, these cadres lose the Party's principled stand in face of the bourgeois ill winds because they themselves fail to act justly. If their style of work is not above reproach, it would be embarrassing to probe into others' affairs. These comrades while involving themselves in the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, should consciously accept education and earnestly rid themselves of the bourgeois style of life harmful to the revolutionary cause in order to gain the initiative in leading work. If they are afraid to see a doctor when they become ill, they will only sink deeper into the quagmire, and that is dangerous indeed.

There are also some people who are afraid of making mistakes because they are not persistent in keeping to principles. They turn only one eye to bourgeois things and do the best they can to avoid making mistakes in order to preserve their integrity. In truth, their minds are filled with all individualist stuff. Promote the proletarian revolutionary tradition and criticize the bourgeois style of thought--this is a consistent principled stand of our Party. How can we make mistakes as long as we keep to the Party's line, principles and policies, distinguish between two different types of contradictions, and strike harsh blows at a small handful of class enemies who stir up the bourgeois ill winds? As for comrades who follow the bourgeois style of life among the people, we should criticize them and help them in order to care for and save them. One who is selfless fears nothing. On this point, that comrade storekeeper has set the example for us. Faced with a wrong decision of the leadership, he dared to oppose it, unafraid of reprisals. This was because he had no selfish and impure notions.

We must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching that our power "is given by the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the vast toiling masses who make up over 90 percent of the population." We must serve the people heart and soul. We must emulate that storekeeper's revolutionary spirit, keep the proletarian "key" well, guard the door of socialism properly, so as to leave no gap for bourgeois things and implement the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through every grassroots unit.

Do Not Practice Vulgar "Exchange of Propriety"

by

Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants Theoretical Group of Laotsoying Brigade, Nanchiao District, Tientsin Municipality

Our brigade established a new Party branch during the "one-strike, three-oppose" movement in 1971. Since its inception, the Party branch has seriously drawn on the experience and lessons of a number of cadres who had committed mistakes and made a point of boycotting bourgeois ideas and practices. It laid down "three rules of discipline" and made them public: Whenever class enemies present our cadres with gifts, the latter should mobilize the masses to criticize and struggle against the class enemies harshly; whenever fraternal units present our cadres with gifts, the latter should politely decline them, stating the reason clearly; and whenever commune members present the cadres with gifts, the latter should not take them either, but should repeatedly educate the former ideologically.

It is the consensus of the poor and lower-middle peasants that these rules are well set insofar as they forbid cadres from practicing vulgar "exchange of propriety." They say: "Our Communist Party cadres hold power for the proletariat and work for the well-being of the majority. Under no circumstances should they barter away the power given by the people and practice vulgar exchange of propriety."

"Exchange of propriety," as the phrase implies, means that there should be reciprocity in the matter of etiquette. In a class society, however, relations between men are class relations, and etiquette also has a class character. For the exploiting classes, etiquette means the pursuit of naked self-interest under the veneer of sentimentalism, and "exchange of propriety" is "exchange of benefits." In a capitalist society, in particular, relations between men are monetary relations. Today, in our socialist country the relations among revolutionary people are comradely relations, and the relations between the proletariat on the one side and the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes on the other are relations between the class exercising dictatorship and the classes subject to dictatorship. However, some people today still adhere to the outdated morality of "exchange of propriety" as the criterion for dealing with people and things. Under the new situation, therefore, "exchange of propriety" assumes different forms of expression:

"You won't let go of the eagle unless you see the rabbit." Some people, whatever they do, always want to "grab something" for themselves or for a small group. They would work hard for big profit, and not so hard for small profit. They "only take and not give." They would not do anything that does not benefit them.

I don't care who you are, but if you invite me to dinner, I'll go, and if you present me with a gift, I'll take it. When you take something from others, you return the favor by speaking good of them. If you do me a favor, I'll do what you want me to do.

I care for bourgeois favors, I couldn't care less about proletarian sentiments. I put private friendship between individuals above all else. Whoever does me a favor, I'll try to repay him, not in the least hesitating to resort to all vulgar means, including undermining the Party's principles and policies in cultivating "friendship" and "face."

All these are undesirable things--things that tend to extend bourgeois right in the matter of relations between men.

Anyone who practices "exchange of propriety" will naturally not concern himself with principles, line and policies as well as class distinctions. Whoever gives me advantages, I'll work for him. In this way, penetration by the capitalist principle of commodity exchange into our political life and even Party life will encourage the unbridled spread of capitalist ideology. This should call for a high degree of vigilance on the part of our cadres. Because our cadres are all vested with a part of power by the Party and the people, they are often regarded by class enemies as people to whom gifts should be presented, the main target for sugar-coated bullets. Through the presentation of gifts, they want to seize power and restore the old order. If we lose our vigilance, forget the objective of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and think of only the private interests of individuals or small groups, then, with the passage of time we will be exploited by class enemies and sink deep into the bourgeois slough.

Vulgar "exchange of propriety" has nothing in common with genuine socialist cooperation, the mutual help between revolutionary comrades and concern for the well-being of the masses. The reason is that vulgar "exchange of propriety" is capitalist in nature, seeking only the private interests of individuals or small groups. But socialist cooperation and proletarian mutual help are based on Marxist-Leninist principles, on the interests of the Party, the revolution and the people. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, there are countless "Dragon River brigade"-type units from our commune to the whole country, and there are countless communist fighters like Lei Feng, fighters who take the whole nation to heart and cast their eyes on the world, "doing everything to benefit others with no thought of self." Such a communist style and spirit should be carried forward and developed.

In order to completely eradicate the old idea of "exchange of propriety," to break the chains of all ideas of bourgeois right and of old traditional concepts, the key lies in seriously reading and studying, in consciously transforming our world outlook. We the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants are firmly convinced that our Party members and cadres, after studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, will certainly be able to guard against conceit and rashness, continue to sweep away all ideological obstacles, and in the class struggle in the ideological domain, go on leading the broad masses to work hard and carry the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end!

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It Is Good to Publish Accounts Periodically

by

Poor and Lower-Middle Peasant Commentators Group,
Hop'ing Brigade, Suburban Area of Changsha Municipality

Is it necessary to publish the accounts of the various brigades and teams of the people's commune regularly? We poor and lower-middle peasants hold that: It is good to do so!

In the past, the accounts of the various production teams of our brigade were not cleared daily and settled monthly. They were not published for the commune members monthly. All that was done was to have a year-end "general settlement." Critical of this practice, the masses say: "These are 'muddy' accounts. We can never find out how deep the 'water' is." In recent years, however, driven by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the brigade Party branch has seriously carried out the policy of running the commune along democratic lines by insisting that all accounts should be published monthly. Satisfied, the masses said happily: "We see things very clearly when our finance is managed democratically and accounts are published monthly. We have no worry." This shows that monthly publication of accounts and practice of democratic financial management reflect the demand of the poor and lower-middle peasants and of commune members in general, and are a measure to implement the Party's rural economic policies and to consolidate and develop the collective economy.

Some people think: "Whether accounts are published or not doesn't concern us much as long as crops are harvested from the fields and distributed to commune members." This is a lopsided view. Production is the basis of distribution and must be seriously grasped well. Daily clearance and monthly settlement of accounts and their publication for commune members every month have an important bearing both on distribution and on production. A production team of our brigade previously was unable to put its finance in order and did not publish its accounts for the commune members every month. Some of its cadres took no interest in production costs or in financial control. They spent lavishly, resulting in much waste. Thus, failure to implement properly the policy of running the commune with diligence and frugality affected the consolidation and development of the collective economy. Only after class struggle in the economic sphere did the team strengthen its financial control, manage its finance democratically, and seriously rectify all violations of financial regulations and the tendency to give cadres special privileges. Accounts were cleared daily and settled monthly and were published monthly. This effectively enhanced the development of the collective economy. Since then, both production costs and non-production expenditures have declined year by year, while gross revenues have increased every year, accompanied by ever growing production drive of the commune members. Facts show that monthly publication of accounts and democratic financial management are of vital, and not "little," significance.

Some production team cadres say: "Well, calculating accounts daily and publishing them monthly is a sign of distrust, and you shouldn't have selected me in the first place!" This apparently is a misunderstanding. According to the policy requirement of the Party, it is a cadre's duty to rely on the masses in making a success of financial work. Here the question of "trust" or "distrust" doesn't arise at all. Cadres are recommended and selected by the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members, and should act exemplarily in performing their duties with honesty in order to win the confidence of the masses. Before you ask the masses to "trust" you, you must "trust" them. Members of the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the broad sections of other toiling masses are the masters of the country. They have the right to exercise revolutionary supervision over our Party and state cadres at all levels. Monthly publication of accounts and democratic financial management are one means for rural cadres to accept mass supervision. When the masses exercise revolutionary supervision over the cadres, discover their problems and help them overcome them, this is a way of expressing their concern and loving care for cadres, a sign of "trust."

But some people in charge of finance say: "Making entries daily and publishing them monthly makes our work not only tiresome but also troublesome." Indeed, it is a troublesome matter to do a good job in financial work. Chairman Mao teaches us to "serve the people heart and soul." In the interests of the people, we should not fear trouble but should do our work, however hard, without murmur of complaint. Actually, the relation between what is troublesome and what is not troublesome is dialectical, and under given conditions they can be transformed into each other. Monthly publication of accounts may seem to be quite troublesome as accounts are published many times in a year. But a month is a short time and there are fewer items and figures, so calculation becomes easier. Moreover, with monthly settlement as the basis, the general year-end settlement is also much more handy. This means transforming what is troublesome into what is not troublesome through man's subjective efforts. Monthly publication of accounts will cause the opinions and demands of the masses to be reflected promptly and problems to be solved quickly. If settlement is on a yearly or semi-yearly basis, much time and effort will be needed, and once problems are discovered, it may be too late to solve them. In that case, a small trouble will become a "big trouble." The poor and lower-middle peasants say rightly, "If you are not afraid of trouble, there will be no trouble. But the more afraid you are of trouble, the more trouble you will get."

The key to persist in monthly publication of accounts rests with the cadres having a strong sense of responsibility toward the revolution and an enterprising spirit of serving the people heart and soul. With this, work will be done well.

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Encourage Working by Oneself

by

Yüeh Hsi (岳曦)

In the course of the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, some leading comrades are seriously improving their style of work, personally investigating things, grasping typical cases, writing reports, handling letters and visits of the masses, and probing into important problems raised in the current movement. This good style of working by oneself is highly praised by cadres and the masses.

There are two ways of doing leadership work: One is to work by oneself in the belief that what one does concerns the overall situation; the other is not to work by oneself but to rely on one's clerk in doing everything. The former is the Marxist way of leadership, our Party's fine tradition giving expression to the fact that revolutionary cadres, whatever their position and rank, are all servants of the people. The latter is a reflection of the bourgeois bureaucratic style of work, disdained by us Communists. It is a style of work practiced by Lin Piao, the opportunist chieftain who was completely demoralized from ideology to material life. We must criticize and boycott this rotten bourgeois style of work and keep away from it. We must persist in the Marxist line of knowledge and promote the proletarian ways of thinking and of work.

Some comrades argue that as there are so many things to be done and the time is short, they cannot do everything by themselves. To be sure, busy work is an objective fact. One who makes revolution is always very busy. But one must busy oneself with important jobs and big issues, with carrying out the Party's line and policies. In doing leadership work, one cannot and need not go to the spot in doing everything or do every piece of work; but one must do the important things. One who does all jobs without finding out their priority and gets busy from dawn to dusk will, in fact, not be able to grasp crucial problems. The current study movement is an important event bearing on the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the prevention of capitalist restoration. Some of the problems brought up in the course of the movement must be solved immediately, others must be carefully studied. This requires that leading cadres must first take the lead in studying theory well and personally conduct investigation and study with success. Otherwise, they cannot lead this study movement well.

To encourage working by oneself does not mean that clerks are not needed. They are needed, and there are certain things that should be handed over to them for action. But one must not rely on clerks in doing everything, that is, one must not live on "ready-made meals." In making work reports to higher organs, giving talks to local districts or units, and in summing up the experience of the mass study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one must bring up and analyze problems in accordance with the Party's line, principles and policies. This requires that our leading comrades should personally go out to find out about the conditions and put forward subjects and ideas for repeated

study and discussion. It is best for principal responsible comrades to write or revise reports or to put forward opinions for revision after study. With leading comrades personally writing or revising some reports, speeches, articles on results of study, and critical essays, this will not only help them activate their thinking and raise their theoretical level but also help raise their capability of leadership and develop work better.

When advised to write reports, some comrades would shake their heads, saying: Very difficult! But this difficulty must be concretely analyzed. Most of the leading comrades, having been tempered in revolutionary struggle over many years and having accumulated relatively rich experience, are capable of writing reports by themselves. For such comrades, the question is not one of whether they find it easy or difficult to write, but one of whether they are diligent enough to write. It is completely within their capability to write something if they have the spirit of being highly responsible to the cause of the Party and the people, if they are willing to do more thinking and work more diligently. If they want to do things in a simple way and are afraid of setting their brains to work, they will not be able to do this. As for a small number of comrades with a lower cultural level, it is indeed a little difficult for them to write. However, what is difficult and what is easy can transform into each other under given conditions. "There is no difficult thing in the world, but things can only be done by men with resolve." As long as we advance against difficulties, study hard, learn and practice more, we will begin to acquire the ability to write. Is it not true that many leading cadres of worker-peasant origin have written some good articles and made a large number of good reports by reading seriously, exerting themselves to study culture and going deep into reality after they participated in the revolution?

The style of work has a great bearing on the execution of the Party's line. Chairman Mao says: "Without the workstyle of arduous struggle and plain living, it will be impossible to keep to a firm and correct political orientation." Leading cadres at all levels must strive to transform their world outlook, consciously develop the Party's fine style of work, and do work by themselves and well, and they will be able to still better implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies.

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Resolutely Follow the Tach'ing Road

by

the Shengli Oilfield CCP Committee

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, May 1, 1975)

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, we workers of the oilfield have seriously studied the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the light of the history of enterprise development and current progress. We have achieved a better understanding that in order to exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in industries and enterprises, we should, like Tach'ing, persist in the struggle between Marxism and revisionism and between the proletariat and the bourgeouisie and make serious efforts to solve the question of orientation and road so that the leadership of the enterprise will truly be in hands of the proletariat. Only by continuing to sum up experience on this question, raising understanding, and strengthening political awareness can the mass movement to "learn from Tach'ing in industry" be developed in a deepgoing manner to enable our enterprise to advance continuously along the socialist road.

The construction of our oilfield began in 1964. Under the impact of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, tremendous achievements have been made in revolutionary struggle and production and construction in the oilfield. The output and total output value of crude oil in 1974 increased by 14 and 12 times respectively as compared with 1965 which was prior to the great proletarian cultural revolution. In the past 10 years, crude oil output has been increasing at an average rate of 37.7 percent annually. It has been built into another petroleum industrial base for our country and is making more and more contributions to the state.

The practice of struggle has made us profoundly realize that all achievements made in building the oilfield are the result of consistent implementation of the Party's basic line. In class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, we not only have insured the correct orientation of production and construction but have also accelerated the pace of production and construction. A battle for production can be fought well only after a political battle is successfully fought first in order to produce more petroleum for the state. We must grasp this fundamental truth and further study the experience of Tach'ing.

Tach'ing is a red banner cited by Chairman Mao, a model in adhering to the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and taking our own road of developing China's industry. Linking theory with practice, the experience of Tach'ing has answered the question of how to run enterprises well in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line during the period of socialism, which is a "period of struggle between declining capitalism and growing communism." In this period, classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads still exist and there is the danger of capitalist

restoration. These struggles will invariably be manifested in all socialist enterprises without exception. In building the oilfield over the past 10 years, we have been continuously advancing amidst fierce struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. However, some comrades still occasionally show blindness in achieving an understanding of this question. Since most of the backbone elements of our oilfield came from Tach'ing, some comrades became complacent. They thought that having gone through the big battle in Tach'ing, to learn from Tach'ing should not be a matter that is seemingly so urgent and important. Although verbally recognizing that Tach'ing persisted in putting proletarian politics in command, some comrades at the oilfield have always thought they themselves produced more oil and made greater contributions there. This kind of thinking reflects that some comrades lack correct understanding of the fundamental experience of Tach'ing and are far from being clear about the complex and protracted nature of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in socialist enterprises.

Objective facts show that class struggle and the struggle between the two lines within our socialist enterprises have never stopped and this situation remains unchanged regardless of the characteristics of different enterprises. In fact, this situation exists even in comparatively advanced enterprises. Our oilfield is a newly built modern enterprise founded on the principle of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts," by totally relying on our country's own economic and technical forces. However, in the past our enterprise came under the influence of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in running enterprises. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the revisionist line was criticized and consequently the building of the oilfield advanced in giant strides. But does this mean that the influence of the revisionist line has ceased to exist? The answer provided by the facts is negative. Criticizing revisionism is our long term fighting task. Judging from our oilfield, the revisionist line for running enterprises sometimes appears in disguised forms, and bourgeois ideology still finds its market there. This situation is often reflected in the ideas of our leaders at various levels. For example, there is the question: Should we take the Party's basic line as the key link, grasp revolution and promote production, and turn our enterprise into a socialist position, or should we relax class struggle, grasp production for its own sake, and regard our enterprise as merely a production unit? We have learned a good lesson on this. In our oilfield there is a unit which seems to have fulfilled its production tasks well. The leadership extended several commendations to this unit in recognition of its performance. But what was the real situation? After conducting investigations and study, we discovered that the leading group of this unit was seriously corroded by bourgeois ideology. The principal leading members degenerated, and the leadership was not really in the hands of the proletariat. After summing up the experience and lesson of this incident, we realized more clearly that at all times and under all circumstances we must not forget the principle of putting proletarian politics in commands and must not forget to use the viewpoint of classes and class struggle to observe and handle all problems in the enterprise. It is very dangerous if we do otherwise.

Should we wholeheartedly rely on the working class or should we rely on a few people? There was vacillation in handling this question, and consequently struggle ensued. In production and construction we relied on the masses and encouraged the workers to take part in designing and thereby realized the strength of the masses. However, our opinions sometimes differed on the question of whether to rely on the workers to solve key technical problems. Our oilfield met with some difficult problems regarding oil extraction techniques. At the beginning we relied on a few technicians to solve the problems, but for a long time they failed to solve them. Later the staff members and workers criticized the revisionist stuff of "letting experts run factories" and "giving first place to techniques" and organized a problem-tackling group with workers as the mainstay. With the participation and efforts of the masses, the problems were quickly solved. In the field of production, the workers are the main force and the masters. In making revolution in the realm of the superstructure the workers are also the main force and the masters.
In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the workers of the oilfield, having mastered the sharp weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, penetratingly criticized Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. These facts taught us that we must wholeheartedly rely on the working class in running our enterprise. It is not very easy to do this, however. To do this, we must constantly and ceaselessly struggle against the idealist conception of history in our minds and struggle against the influence of the revisionist line.

An important experience of Tach'ing is that with the Party's basic line, it has trained and educated a contingent of "iron man"-like petroleum workers. With a contingent of such petroleum workers armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, we can do better in maintaining and developing our Party's revolutionary tradition of arduous struggle and insure that our enterprise is advancing in the correct political orientation.
In the past few years, especially in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have learned from Tach'ing's experience in conducting class education and have conducted activities to recall past suffering and contrast it with our present-day happiness in conjunction with criticism of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary crimes and revisionist line. This enabled the staff members and workers to distinguish, in light of their personnel experience, socialism from capitalism and Marxism from revisionism, understand the historical mission of the proletariat, and see the importance and necessity of exercising proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Practical experience shows that this is a good way of conducting education on the Party's basic line and of raising the masses' awareness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the activities to recall past suffering and contrast it with present-day happiness and conduct criticism, the masses consciously linked their destiny with that of their class and the state. They also linked their work with the noble objective of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and realizing communism. While their socialist enthusiasm continued to rise, they became more skillful in struggling against the bourgeoisie.

Under the conditions in which the proletariat is politically superior, one of the methods the bourgeoisie has used to attack our ranks is to open a breach in our way of life and to economically infiltrate and corrode our ranks. In the past we were not sufficiently aware of this situation. In the last few years we have frequently organized investigation groups to analyze the trend of actual class struggle at basic-level units. Through investigation we have come to realize that owing to the existence of classes and class struggle, the working-class ranks are still constantly under the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology. The staff members and workers of our oilfield constantly work in various areas in the countryside. Following the expansion of the oilfield, a large number of new workers are added each year. It is inevitable that these new workers bring with them the ideology of the various classes in society, especially the ideology of small producers. If we relax our vigilance, bourgeois ideology will influence us. In fact, in our oilfield some of the office personnel, workers and Party members still follow the bourgeois style of life, and some even have degenerated into new bourgeois elements. This shows that even the working class does not live in a safe vacuum. The working class must at all times guard against bourgeois corrosive influence; only thus can it preserve its political quality. In coping with this situation, we conducted education on the Party's basic line in light of reality. Following the development and change of class struggle, we have ceaselessly raised new topics to enlighten the staff members and workers on the new trends of actual class struggle. Since the beginning of last year, various units have launched a struggle against bourgeois corrosion under these circumstances. In addition to commending advanced units and individuals in the oilfield, we also helped those comrades who made mistakes sum up experience and lessons which served as education for themselves and others. Through repeated education, the staff members and workers appreciably raised their awareness of class struggle and line struggle. They took the initiative in criticizing revisionism, the bourgeoisie, and tendencies toward capitalism, and they became more skillful in resisting bourgeois corrosion. The number of advanced personages who were impregnable to bourgeois corrosion increased, further carrying forward the proletariat's glorious tradition of arduous struggle in our enterprise.

The experience of the Tach'ing Oilfield tells us that, in grasping the building of an enterprise, it is necessary to pay particular attention to building basic-level Party organizations. Like PLA companies, the drilling, engineering and oil extracting teams of an oilfield are the basic fighting units at the front. If attention is not paid to raising the fighting strength of the basic-level Party organizations, it is impossible to place the leadership of an enterprise in the hands of Marxists and masses of workers. Thus, in giving education on the Party's basic line, we stress that all organizations should promote outstanding industrial workers and outstanding young workers tempered in political movements, in particular the great proletarian cultural revolution, to leading posts and establish leading bodies of three-in-one combination of "the old, the middle-aged and the young." At present, over 90 percent of the basic-level Party branch committee members throughout the oilfield are workers; among them, some 40 percent are young workers. They are enthusiastic in implementing the Party line and obeying the Party discipline.

They are relatively rich in practical experience, work hard, keep close ties with the masses, and are trusted by the masses. Promoting them to leading posts is helpful in enabling the working class to rebuild the enterprise in its own image and in making the basic-level Party organizations play a still better role as fighting bulwarks in the three great revolutionary movements.

The key to whether the enterprise can develop along the socialist path also lies in whether the Party committee of the enterprise can ceaselessly correct its ideological and political line. Judging by the majority of our Party committee members, educated in the great cultural movement, they have attached greater importance to grasping the line, major issues and political and ideological work, and have kept good relations with the masses. However, there are also a handful of comrades who sum up experiences passively and dare neither to grasp class struggle and two-line struggle nor to combat the evil and unhealthy trends of the bourgeoisie. This indicates that it is still necessary to continue to strengthen the transformation of world outlook and the building of the Party committee. Recently, through the repeated study of Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, we have increased our understanding of the experience of the Tach'ing Oldfield on the plane of the proletarian dictatorship. In the light of reality, we have discussed why certain comrades vacillate in implementing the Party's basic line at a time when the class struggle is fierce and complicated, why they often relax the political and ideological work and forget to rely on the masses at a time when the production jobs are heavy, and why they are still interested in "material incentives" and other revisionist things. Through study and discussions, we further realize that there are still many bourgeois ideas in our minds and in particular that we still do not thoroughly understand the question of how to exercise an all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie within the enterprise. If we neither study the theory of the proletarian dictatorship well nor consciously transform our world outlook with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, we will not genuinely have the leadership to run the socialist enterprise well. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching "read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism," we are resolved to regard studying Marxist theory and transforming our own world outlook as the principal task in building an enterprise Party committee. We are also resolved to continue to enhance our consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and "maintain the same vigor, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of revolutionary war and carry on our revolutionary work to the end."

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Fight in Unity, Advance Triumphantly

by

the CCP Committee of Hoshan Mining Bureau

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, May 1, 1975)

The "May 1" International Labor Day is a Red-letter day marking the united struggle of the working class the world over. Along with the people of the whole country, the workers of our Hoshan Mining Bureau in Kwangsi, filled with revoutionary pride, are seriously studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and greeting this glorious festive day with new victories in revolution and production.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be fully achieved in every factory, village, office and school." We have seriously carried out this instruction of Chairman Mao's, penetratingly unfolded the revolution in the superstructure, criticized the bourgeoisie and revisionism, and struck at the sabotage activities of the class enemy. This has made it possible to continue to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, and also made possible the appearance of an excellent situation marked by stability and unity and victorious advance throughout the entire Bureau. The cadres and workers, being interested in the line, unity, the general situation and Party spirit, have seriously enforced the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," learning from Tach'ing, catching up with Kailuan and exerting every major effort to achieve one victory after another in revolution and production. Since 1969, crude coal output has exceeded state plans every year, growing by an average of 22.4 percent per annum. Its profits surrendered to the state doubled the sum total of the 19 years before 1969. In 1974, a serious flood, one never witnessed since the establishment of the mine, was beaten, and the state production plan was overfulfillfed ahead of schedule. Crude coal output for the whole year was three times higher than that of 1965 before the great proletarian cultural revolution was started, doubling the original designed capacity. In the first quarter of this year, crude coal output exceeded the state plan every month, and a new increase was registered compared with the corresponding period of last year. Practice makes us understand that strengthening the militant unity of the working class is imperative in winning victories, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and building socialism.

Hoshan Coal Mine has a history of 55 years. After liberation, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, three small coal kilns developed into a medium-sized coal mine. But in the past, due to the influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line and to interference and sabotage by Lin Piao and company aimed at inciting bourgeois factionalism and splitting the workers ranks, progress in production of the mine was slow. Since 1969, we have strengthened the militant unity of the working class as a major issue in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. With

the Party's basic line as the key link, we criticized the crimes of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and company in dividing the revolutionary ranks. We also strengthened the unity of the working class and enhanced the development of revolution and production. Facts show that without criticizing revisionism, without wiping out bourgeois factionalism and without forging the unity of the workers ranks well, we cannot carry out the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through the grassroots level, much less speed up the pace of building a socialist mine.

Lenin said: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country)." The might of the working class stems from the unity of the class as a whole. Without forging the unity of the working class well, we cannot defeat the bourgeoisie. The workers say rightly: "One pit prop cannot support a big rock; but thousands of pit props can hold a big mountain. United, the working class will have strength." Similarly, for the dictatorship of the proletariat to create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or to appear afresh, it is not enough to depend solely upon the organs of dictatorship and a few people, it is necessary to rely on the strong unity of the working class itself, on the unity and solidarity of the working class and all other laboring people. As Marx pointed out: "Working-class unity is the prerequisite for the workers' victory." For the past years, in our Bureau the disruptive activities of the class enemy have been promptly exposed and hit at, the capitalist evil trends have been subjected to continuous criticism and the old traditional concepts and the force of habit have been further resisted. One of the important reasons for this is the militant unity of the worker masses and cadres. In June and July last year, our Bureau suffered an exceptionally serious flood. Some rail tracks were washed away, some principal shafts were flooded, and production was gravely threatened. At this time, the class enemies tried by every means to hamper the struggle to fight the flood. Yet the workers, tempered and improved in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, saw through their plot and criticized the various fallacies they spread. The workers, together with their dependents, bearing the interests of the state in mind, all marched to the front to save the mine. Not only was output not reduced, but it exceeded the state quota increased recently. Without strong revolutionary unity, such achievements would have been impossible.

The working class is the most revolutionary class in human history, and there is no fundamental conflict of interests within itself. This determines that it can form itself into a united fighting body. But as our socialist society has just emerged from the womb of the capitalist society, certain signs of disunity among the workers have a deep social origin. The class enemies always try by every means to disrupt the unity of the working class. Besides, "there has never been a great Chinese wall separating the workers from the old society. The workers still retain many traditional mentalities of the capitalist society." Most of our miners, coming as they

do from the countryside, inevitably bring some old ideas and habits of small producers into the worker ranks. Therefore, to strengthen the working-class unity, it is not only necessary to exercise dictatorship over those class enemies bent on disrupting revolutionary unity, but also necessary to guide cadres and workers to educate and transform themselves with democratic methods so as to keep themselves from coming under the influence of the reactionaries at home and abroad, continuously eliminate the old habits and old ideas left over from the old society, and consciously get rid of the concept of bourgeois right and restrict such right. Just as the workers say, it is absolutely essential to criticize and fight the revisionist line, old ideas and old habits, and the concept of bourgeois right corroding the working class, or else these things will erode the workers' thinking and hurt our unity. For instance, it is necessary to commend labor models and advanced workers, but we cannot practice "material incentives." Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, influenced by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, the leadership of our Bureau had instituted various incentives only to have the proletarian ideological-political work weakened and let bourgeois thinking dominate the ideological position. The result was that production failed to increase and unity was loose. The great cultural revolution raised our consciousness of the need to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and caused us to step up ideological education among the workers. An excellent situation marked by unity and solidarity among all appeared in the Bureau. However, the pernicious influence of the revisionist line had not been thoroughly eliminated, so in 1973 we again offered incentives for quick work and fast tunneling, etc. Although the incentives were not big, great harm was done, as disunity was caused among people doing different kinds of work in different sections and shifts, between themselves and between them and the cadres. Then came the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The miners further enhanced their ability to distinguish Marxism from revisionism. Enthusiastically putting up big-character posters, they criticized the revisionist stuff "material incentives," making it possible for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to go deeper into people's minds and for new features of vigorous and united struggle to appear in the Bureau. The workers indicated: "We must not offer a reward for a 10,000-ton working face, but we must create such a working face." Redoubling their efforts, workers and cadres toiled hard to create a 10,000-ton working face. Despite complex hydrological and geological conditions of our mine, of the ten working faces, six produced a ten thousand-ton record last year. For six consecutive months since October last year, the No. 2 extracting zone of the Eastern Mine has produced more than ten thousand tons monthly. Experiences, both positive and negative, tell us that whenever they adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, workers and cadres will, bearing the general situation in mind, work selflessly and together; whenever they depart from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and fall into the revisionist quagmire, they are likely to haggle over personal gains or losses, demoralized and sluggish.

When we talk about unity, we have consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in mind. Only by getting clear theoretically on the nature of proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois dictatorship can we promote revolutionary unity under the goal of consolidating the dictatorship of the

proletariat and overcome the bourgeois ideological style of some people who are used to set up mountain strongholds, stir up factionalism, vie for position and profit. Since the 9th Party Congress, the workers and cadres of the Bureau have seriously read Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's theses on getting united to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, in light of the needs of class struggle in various periods, education on recalling the past and contrasting it with the present, on class and line, on current trends and revolutionary traditions has been conducted, and the fallacies spread by Lin Piao and company to disrupt revolutionary unity deeply repudiated. Recently, we have further developed the mass movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and study and criticism has make everyone realize that the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat is a very important ideological weapon for us in carrying out socialist revolution and construction successfully, and is also the ideological basis for forging working-class revolutionary unity. We must study it well, master and grasp it. By getting a clear idea of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we will, proceeding from the need to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, correctly differentiate and handle two types of contradictions, seriously carry out the Party's policies, unite over 95 percent of cadres and the worker masses, and wage a struggle in concert. It is precisely under the guidance of the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat that we have over the years relied on the workers to gradually increase every year the output of coal and accelerate the rate of tunneling. The high-speed tunneling team of Suho Mine, through study and enhancing unity, brought the communist spirit into full play. The different shifts cooperated with one another, and nothing could stop them from advancing at a high speed in tunneling. Since March 1973, they have for 24 consecutive months surpassed the state target for single-hole tunneling.

In strengthening revolutionary unity among the workers, the line is fundamental and leadership holds the key. Without the unity of the Party committee based on Marxist principles, it will be impossible to achieve revolutionary unity among the worker masses. Take the Party committee of a mine under our Bureau for example. For one time previously, the secretaries and committee members, while united ostensibly, in fact, each went their own separate ways. Since the Party committee did not form a strong leadership core, it was unable to adopt an effective approach toward problems relating to thinking and production. Among some workers, proletarian uprightness was lacking while evil bourgeois atmosphere prevailed. Lack of unity hampered both revolution and production. Then came the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The Party committee of this mine unfolded an open-door rectification by encouraging the rank and file to put forward their opinions and suggestions. Meanwhile, within the Party committee itself an active ideological struggle was waged, with each member doing more self-criticism. Moreover, self-interest and revisionism were criticized at various mass meetings. Enhanced unity of the Party committee led to enhanced unity of the worker masses. With everyone engaged in united struggle, the backward features of the mine were quickly changed. We realized that the Party committee leadership must at all times

maintain unity in thinking, policy, plans, command and action according to Mao Tsetung thought and the proletarian Party spirit, so as to "create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness," and in order to strengthen the militant unity of the worker masses and continue to develop revolution and production.

Although we have done some work under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we still have a long way to go before meeting the Party's demands. We have also seen clearly that so long as classes, class contradictions and class struggle exist, there inevitably exist factors interfering with and undermining the unity of the working class. Therefore, we must step up work in this respect from now on. Together with the workers and cadres, we should make an effort to study and master the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, continue to raise our theoretical level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, and fight in unity for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such is our wish and our goal.

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Guard the Party Against Corruption by the Principle of Commodity Exchange

by

Kan Ko (甘戈)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, May 1, 1975)

To adhere to the proletarian Party spirit, act in accordance with the Party's political and organizational principles and guard against and resist the corrosive effect of the capitalist principle of commodity exchange on the Party--this is an important issue of Party building during the socialist period. All Communist Party members, especially the Party's leading cadres, should have an adequate understanding of this question.

The principle of commodity exchange in the capitalist society is a principle dictating economic and social relations. It profoundly reflects the selfish and profit-hungry class nature of the bourgeoisie. On the surface the capitalists hang the signboard of exchange of equal values; actually, on the strength of the means of production in their hands, they use the principle of commodity exchange to purchase labor and squeeze surplus value out of the workers. Moreover, they apply the principle of commodity exchange to all aspects of social life, turning everything into monetary relations between buyer and seller. As Marx said in "Capital", "Things that are not commodities in themselves, such as conscience and honor, can also be used by their owners to exchange for money and, through their pricing, obtain the commodities they want." In the eyes of the capitalists, it is only proper and right to gain maximum profits through the channels of commodity production and commodity exchange. And to achieve this purpose, they can do anything to benefit themselves at the expense of others and use any tricks, however despicable. Therefore, the capitalist principle of commodity exchange clearly illustrates the ruthless and avaricious features of capitalist society.

In our country, as the system of exploitation has been overthrown and the system of ownership has been changed, production and exchange of commodities under the socialist system are guided mainly by the demands of the state planned economy to serve socialist construction and to satisfy the daily growing needs of the laboring people in town and country. But, can it be said that the profit-hungry capitalist principle of commodity exchange no longer exercises its influence in people's minds and in real life? Certainly not. Our country at present practices a commodity system, bourgeois right still exists,and bourgeois thinking still gives off an odor and corrupts people's minds. Under these circumstances, as a reflection of class struggle in society, the capitalist principle of commodity exchange inevitably intrudes into Party life and political life. "Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois way of life." One of the important reasons for the appearance of this "bourgeois" style of life is the intrusion of the capitalist principle of commodity exchange. For instance, a small number of Party members take themselves as commodities and regard joining the Party and doing some work for the people as a ladder

to upgrade themselves as commodities. At the first opportunity they would stretch out their hands to the Party, demanding fame and gain, a higher position, and better treatment. Motivated by personal interests or the interests of small groups, some people ignore Party discipline, set up mountain strongholds, stir up factionalism, flattering some while attacking others. Some people, in order to attain their personal ambition, disregard the Party's line and policies and barter away Party principles, concerning themselves with personal favors or rancors, gains or losses. If not overcome, this decadent and vulgar bourgeois style arising from the intrusion of the principle of commodity exchange into Party life will surely cause certain organizations of the Party and certain persons to be demoralized politically.

All ideas, acts and practices which substitute the capitalist principle of commodity exchange for Party principle are basically incompatible with the character and tasks of our Party. Our Party is a Marxist-Leninist party, vanguard of the proletariat. Its basic program calls for the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, replacing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the use of socialism to defeat capitalism. Its ultimate goal is the realization of communism. And the principle of proletarian party spirit is a concentrated manifestation of the class nature of the proletariat, reflecting as it does the fine qualities of the proletariat, impartial and selfless, most far-sighted and richest in revolutionary thoroughness. To preserve its Marxist-Leninist character and to accomplish its historical tasks, the Party must teach its members and cadres to adhere to the principle of proletarian Party spirit and resist erosion by capitalist thinking. This is what our Party has done. For several decades, to realize the lofty communist ideals, many outstanding Party members and cadres, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, have consistently upheld the Party's correct stand and stuck to the principle of proletarian Party spirit, neither yielding to the white terror of the Kuomintang reactionaries nor wavering in the face of bourgeois inducements and corruption. They have shown the principle and firmness of a communist to the highest degree. They are worthy of being emulated by us. Today, our Party is leading the people of the whole country in further consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and deepening the socialist revolution, and the struggle is as violent as it is complicated. This calls for greater vigilance against and prevention of our Party's erosion by the bourgeois style of life and the capitalist principle of commodity exchange. Party organizations at all levels must strengthen education among Party members in the character and tasks of the Party and persist in carrying out education in the principle of proletarian Party spirit. Each and every Party member in the course of this great study movement should, bearing the facts in mind, pause and think seriously: Does my thinking and action conform to the Party's demands and principles? If they have ever substituted the capitalist principle of commodity exchange for the Party's principles, they must rectify themselves resolutely. For only in this way can they march in big strides along the broad path of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao points out: "The Communist Party is a political party that works for the well-being of the nation and the people, and it has no private interest of its own." "At no time and in no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses. Hence, selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, whole-hearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work will command respect." Those who are influenced by bourgeois egoism do not really understand and do not even believe what Chairman Mao says, that our Party and its members absolutely seek no private gains. They always use the bourgeois viewpoint and the capitalist principle of commodity exchange in handling the relations between an individual and the Party or between one comrade and another. By so doing, they are bound to run into trouble. We Communists are advanced elements of the proletariat. Our purpose in joining the Party and the revolutionary ranks is to achieve thorough emancipation of the proletariat and of the people of the whole world, to realize the communist ideal, and not to seek any private gains for ourselves or for small groups. That is why our Party is a great, glorious and correct party that enjoys the support of the people, and being a Communist is something glorious. If we take joining the Party and doing a little work for the people as a means of seeking private gains, and if we turn the relations between ourselves and our organization into relations of commodity exchange, we would become, as Lenin pointed out, "people who are only 'out for' the benefits accruing to membership of a government party in power and do not want to bear the burden of self-sacrificing work on behalf of Communism." We would be most despicable and not Communists in the true sense of the world. Likewise, within the revolutionary ranks, the relations between men must not be regarded as relations of mutual exploitation and benefit. Since we hail from all corners of the country and join together for a single goal, and since the same revolutionary interests, the same class destiny and noble revolutionary feelings have bounded us together, our relations can only be relations between comrades, relations between class brothers. We should all care for each other, support and help each other. We should learn from Comrade Bethune's spirit of doing everything to benefit all but oneself, assume an honest attitude toward the handling of problems, be utterly responsible toward work and utterly warmhearted toward our comrades and the people. We must set ourselves strict demands, regard it as an unshirkable duty to do well the work assigned by the Party, and derive the greatest happiness from serving the people. Achievements we make in work should be credited to the Party and to the people and must not be taken as private "capital" to demand something from the Party and the people. We must be able to work at the top or at the bottom, as "officials" and as common people. We must not take advantage of the power and positions given by the people to seek private gains. Lu Hsün said: "I'm like a cow, feeding on grass and supplying milk and blood." Every sincere Communist should have such a noble spirit of bending oneself to the people's revolutionary cause until death.

Practicing the capitalist principle of commodity exchange in Party life is a sign of opportunism. Lenin had repeatedly described how the bourgeoisie corrupted the upper-stratum elements in the workers movement, making them so demoralized that they sold out their souls and became revisionists leaning toward the bourgeoisie. He pointed out sharply:

"Buying off is the crux of the whole problem." For their own good, opportunists also regard themselves as commodities and sell themselves to the bourgeoisie. In the socialist period, if we allow the capitalist principle of commodity exchange to penetrate into Party life and allow some people to sacrifice Party principles and the fundamental interests of the broad masses to the interests of individuals or small groups, then actually we allow bourgeois and opportunist ideas to spread unchecked within the Party and allow them to harm the Party cause. During the heated struggle between the two lines, such people are liable to slide toward revisionism. Facts tell us that once Communists depart from the Party's stand and principle in thinking and action and loosen their resistance against erosion by the bourgeois principle of commodity exchange, they begin to commit mistakes in politics and daily life and will eventually sink into the bourgeois quagmire without being able to extricate themselves from it.

The ideas and practices of certain Party members and cadres that run counter to Party principles will not only affect adversely many aspects of Party life but also greatly hinder the current movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Following the publication of Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of theory, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country are now seriously studying and mastering the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, trying to understand why it is necessary to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. This is a major event in combating and preventing revisionism as well as in consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is yet another attack launched by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, yet another sweeping operation by the revolutionary people against "capitalism and the bourgeois environment it has created." In face of this situation and task, if we Party members, especially leading Party cadres,do not consciously link the transformation of our world outlook with keeping away from the idea of bourgeois right, criticizing the erroneous ideas and acts of bartering away principles and preventing the capitalist commodity principle from penetrating into Party life, then we will, instead of leading this study movement well, stand in its way. This we must overcome on the plane of integrating theory with practice.

As Chairman Mao has taught us, Communists must "at any time and anywhere adhere to correct principles, wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and behavior, and consolidate the Party's collective life as well as the ties between the Party and the masses." The penetration of the capitalist principle of commodity exchange into the Party is a reflection of class struggle in society. To subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes and new bourgeois elements will always try by every means to use the idea of bourgeois right to corrupt our Party and to foster their agents within the Party. Some people within the Party who have not thoroughly transformed their world outlook and who have not completely joined the Party ideologically can be tricked easily by them. Therefore, within our Party, whether to practice the capitalist principle of commodity exchange or adhere to the proletarian Party spirit is an important aspect of the struggle between

corrosion and anti-corrosion, a focus of the struggle over whether to transform our Party in the proletarian or bourgeois image. The capitalist principle of commodity exchange on penetrating into the Party corrupts our Party's body and the thinking of our comrades, and if we do not fight it or not vigorously, the Party's collective life will not be consolidated, the ties between the Party and the masses will be weakened, the Party organization will be undermined, and certain Party members will be demoralized politically and even degenerate into new bourgeois elements. Chairman Mao's recent instruction on the question of theory is a powerful force propelling our struggle against erosion by bourgeois ideas and style of life. We must unfold an active ideological struggle and use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to get rid of the bad bourgeois ideas and style in time. We must fully arouse the masses and create strong public opinion for the suppression of bourgeois ideas and style. We trust that building up the Party ideologically with the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the guide will surely make our Party still more vigorous, enabling the vast numbers of Party members to preserve their proletarian revolutionary youth now and forever.

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Maintain and Carry Forward the "Paupers'" Spirit

- Re-studying Chairman Mao's instruction on agricultural cooperation

by

Wang Kuo-fan (王國藩)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, May 1, 1975)

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's preface and introductory notes to the book "The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside." In the current upsurge of studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, I have restudied Chairman Mao's introductory notes to "The Party Secretary Takes the Lead and All the Party Members Help Run the Coops" and "Diligent and Frugal Coop Operation." I felt warmly educated. At present, whether we can maintain and carry forward the "paupers'" spirit is a major issue on whether we can persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must maintain the proletarian political feature of hard struggle and carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

When we 23 poor-peasant families first set up an agricultural producers cooperative in Hsipu village, we had only 230 mow of sloping land, a worn-out wooden plow and a three-quarter share in the ownership of a donkey. We were also very short of other farm implements and seeds. We could not afford to buy paper for keeping accounts and had to use corn husks as a substitute. We were indeed "poor and blank"! As our coop was very poor, some people called it a "paupers' coop." But we made up our mind that, regardless of what other people might say, we would only follow the direction of cooperation pointed out by Chairman Mao and exert our best to advance along the road of socialism. We were convinced that, under the leadership of the Communist Party and by relying on the collective strength and hard struggle, we could overcome all difficulties. We were determined to take the socialist road. In order to overcome our difficulties, we went to the hills more than 30 li from our village to cut wood and used the money thus obtained to buy animals, tools, seeds and other things. After two winters and springs of hard work, we used the money obtained through selling wood to buy a donkey, five oxen, two mules, 65 sheep, 12 pigs, a large iron-wheel cart and some other simple tools. As we used to say at that time, these things were "obtained from the hills."

The great leader Chairman Mao was very pleased to learn of what we had done in setting up a cooperative, and paid serious attention to it. In his introductory note to the article "The Party Secretary Takes the Lead and All the Party Members Help Run the Coops," he said: "Taking part in the cooperative movement in Tsunhua county is the Wang Kuo-fan Cooperative, originally consisting of 23 poor-peasant families and a three-quarter share in the ownership of a donkey. It was nicknamed 'The Paupers' Coop.' But relying on their own efforts, in three years' time its members accumulated a large quantity of the means of production. They 'got it from the mountains,' they explained. Some of the people visiting the cooperative were moved to tears when they learned what this meant.

Our entire nation, we feel, should pattern itself after this coop. In a few decades, why can't 600 million 'paupers,' by their own efforts, create a socialist country, rich and strong? The wealth of society is created by the workers, the peasants, the working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, use Marxism-Leninism as their guide, and energetically tackle problems instead of evading them, there is no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome." Here Chairman Mao penetratingly criticized the interference and sabotage by the Right opportunists within the Party against the movement of agricultural cooperation and praised the revolutionary spirit of the 600 million paupers in promoting socialism in defiance of all difficulties. During the past 20 years, the poor and lower-middle peasants and other commune members of Hsipu Village have firmly taken the road pointed out by Chairman Mao, firmly implemented things in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, worked hard and relied on themselves, launched struggles to transform natural conditions and greatly developed the collective economy. Now the Hsipu Production Brigade has nearly 100 large animals, 10 tractors and more than 270 sets and pieces of farm machinery. The past barren mountains and rough slopes are now covered with fruit trees and pine and juniper trees or have become level Tachai-type fields. The brigade has made tremendous development in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and sideline production. The poor and backward Hsipu Village has been initially built into a new socialist village. The features of all Tsunhua hsien have also begun to change. The area of mechanized farming now accounts for 80 percent of all arable acreage. Per-mow grain yields have increased three-fold compared with pre-cooperation days. Processing of farm and sideline products has been basically mechanized or semi-mechanized. Agricultural and industrial production throughout the county has made big headway. The most notable change, however, is in the spiritual outlook of the masses. The revolutionary spirit of the "paupers' coop" praised by Chairman Mao--the "paupers' spirit" as we call it--has taken roots among the cadres and masses and has begun to bloom, spurring and encouraging us to work harder and continue the revolution.

Practice in struggle has enabled us to deeply realize that the "paupers' spirit" is our revolutionary heirloom! It is a kind of spirit with which we resolutely implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, unswervingly march on the socialist road and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a kind of spirit with which we build socialism through self-reliance and hard struggle. It is the spirit of an "unbeaten fellow" with which the proletariat dares to struggle and to win without fear of hardship. It is also an embodiment of the true political color of the proletariat. Our Party members and cadres must maintain this true political color. They should fear neither hardship nor danger, work hard, be honest and law-abiding, resist the corrosion of the bourgeois lifestyle and, as ordinary laborers, serve the people thoroughly and wholeheartedly.

Our cadres are servants of the people irrespective of their ranks and positions. Chairman Mao has taught us that "at no time can we be divorced from the masses." This means that from our political stand to thinking and feelings, and from our attitude toward work to lifestyle, we must closely associate ourselves with the masses, heart to heart and with the same vigor. In 1970, the Party organization assigned me to a

leading post on the Tsunhua hsien Party Committee. Even with my burdens becoming heavier and my position changed, I thought that the "paupers'" spirit could not be cast aside. I saw that many of my old comrades, though old in age and some even not in good health, still maintained the same vigor, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of revolutionary war. They braved winds and rains, joined the masses in hard work, worked industriously and fought for implementing the Party's revolutionary line and attaining our goals through struggle. This in particular gave me a good education. I felt that I should further maintain a "pauper's" true colors, constantly consider myself a servant of the people and never seek "privileges." Out of their concern, my comrades always wanted to provide me some good care in my daily life. However, I thought that as a leading cadre, the more care I received,the further I would become estranged from the masses. For this reason, I chose to share a bedroom with cooks and other management personnel and eat together with the cadres and staff members in the same messhall. Whenever I went to the countryside, I would always eat, live, work, study and make criticism together with the commune members and strive to forge close ties with the masses. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Notwithstanding the difference in work and duty, any of us, irrespective of his official rank, must appear before the people as an ordinary laborer and should at no time be allowed to put on airs." Chairman Mao's teaching manifests the new type of relations between leading cadres and the masses under the socialist system. If anyone in a leading position casts away his true proletarian color, makes a show of authority, assumes airs, goes in for extravagence and divorces himself from the masses, does he turn into a big official lording it over the people? Irrespective of the difference in our work and responsibility in any Party or government agency, we work in the interests of the revolution and are servants of the people. Those comrades who occupy leading posts are charged with heavier responsibilities and must place more rigid requirements on themselves, place themselves among the masses and consciously accept mass supervision. Once they are divorced from the masses, they will not be able to lead the masses to struggle to fulfill the Party's tasks.

The revolutionary spirit of the proletariat has been maintained and carried forward through struggles against traditional ideas. In order not to forget the revolutionary spirit of a "pauper," I periodically go back to the Hsipu Brigade to participate in collective productive labor. With regard to material treatment, I keep logging my workpoints in the brigade according to the same rate applicable to labor done by other commune members, besides drawing a small amount of living allowance. To encourage me, the masses say: It is good to be a "commune member-secretary," because in this way the "paupers'" spirit can be maintained. However, some comrades say: "Now that you are a secretary, you may detach yourself from production." They mean that since I have assumed leadership responsibilities in the county government, I don't have to take part in labor and should receive better treatment. I think this is a reflection of the idea of bourgeois right. As Marx and Engels said in "Communist Manifesto," "The communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." If a Communist Party member or a revolutionary cadre falls into the quagmire of ideas of private ownership and always thinks about narrow personal gain and loss,

such ideas as "socialism," "communism," "revolution" and "struggle" in his mind will become diluted. As a servant of the people, one must not be divorced from the masses or production and must at the same time do his work well. While I am assuming a leading post in the county, I do not separate myself from the grassroots units. Economically, I have not cut my ties with the commune members. In my daily life, I always keep my requirements to the minimum and integrate myself with the masses. This is good for me in keeping up the revolutionary spirit of a "pauper" and revolutionizing my thinking. It is also conducive to resisting corrosion by the idea of bourgeois right. "Officials are noble, the people are mean" and "seeking official position and wealth" are traditional ideas left over by the exploiting classes for several thousands of years. We must break with these old ideas, strive to be "officials and ordinary people at the same time," maintain the true political color of the proletariat, and enhance our ability to combat and prevent revisionism.

Chairman Mao points out: "Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." This instruction should sound as an alarm to us. If we slacken our vigilance against and fail to be conscious of the corrosion and influence of the bourgeoisie, the true political color of the proletariat is likely to be blown away by "bourgeois" winds. We also see that some Party members and cadres, even though they came from among "paupers", have now acquired bourgeois ideas and followed the bourgeois style of life. They fear hardships, seek "privileges," happiness and enjoyment and even take advantage of their position and power to feather their own "cosy nets." Does this mean regression, not to continue the revolution anymore? Chairman Mao says: "A dangerous tendency has shown itself of late among many of our personnel--an unwillingness to share the joys and hardships of the masses, a concern for personal fame and gain. This is very bad." Under the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie often attacks us with the idea of bourgeois right and the bourgeois style of life. And some comrades recognize bourgeois right not for the purpose of gradually restricting and eventually eliminating it, but for the purpose of using it to seek personal gain and to satisfy their desire to live like the bourgeoisie. Do they not take the same road as the bourgeoisie? In the past, we defeated the enemies with guns by dint of our proletarian spirit of hard struggle. Today, faced with enemies without guns, we still need the same revolutionary spirit to defeat them. This is especially true when we are under attack by the sugar-coated bullets of the enemy. There is a danger that we may get hit if we shed such a spirit. We owe our victory today to the thousands and thousands of outstanding Party members and cadres who, with no thought of fame or fortune and no fear of hardship or death, waged a continuous struggle in which when one fell, another would take his place. We must learn from and keep alive the revolutionary tradition of hard struggle created by our revolutionary forerunners. We must strive to raise our Marxist level and stand sober, firm and unyielding in the face of bourgeois evil winds. We must continue to advance on the road of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Same people say: "The 'paupers'' spirit was required in the past under difficult conditions, but not now." This is wrong. The "paupers'" spirit is the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat. It had to be kept alive in the past, must be kept alive today, and will have to be kept alive in the future. In his introductory note in "Diligent and Frugal Coop Operation," Chairman Mao points out: "Factories, stores, state-owned and cooperative enterprises, all other enterprises--each should be run in keeping with the policy of diligence and frugality. This is a policy of economy, one of the basic policies of socialist economics. China is a big country, but it is still very poor. We shall need a few score years before we can make China prosperous. Even then we still will have to be diligent and frugal." Now the "paupers' cooperative" has begun to prosper, but the cadres and commune members there are living the same diligent and frugal life as in the lean years. The purpose of our proletarian revolution is to get rid of the system of man exploiting man, to abolish classes, to realize communism, and to emancipate the whole of mankind. Even a production brigade, a commune or a county has become richer than it was formerly, it is still a "pauper" in comparison of our lofty goals. In the world today, there still exist vast numbers of exploited and oppressed working people who have yet to be emancipated, and we have the duty to aid the revolutionary people the world over. We must carry forward the revolutionary "paupers'" spirit and contribute more toward the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

To maintain and enhance the revolutionary "paupers'" spirit, it is important that we conscientiously remold our world outlook. Only when we strive to remold our subjective world while at the same time changing the objective world and continuously fighting back the corrosion and influence of the bourgeoisie and the force of habit of the old society can we retain our class bonds with the masses and share weal and woe with them regardless of our position, and can we maintain the lifestyle of hard struggle regardless of our stage of life. The proletarian world outlook does not present itself spontaneously. We will acquire that outlook only by conscientiously studying Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, by criticizing the bourgeoisie, revisionism, capitalist tendencies and the force of old habits. To enable Party members and cadres, especially leading cadres, of our county to develop the consciousness of resisting corrosion by bourgeois ideas and to continue the revolution in the spirit of hard struggle, our county CCP committee has reached a "Decision on Carrying Forward the 'Paupers'' Spirit and Maintaining the Style of Hard Struggle." From the standing committee members on down, every cadre is not permitted to attend any dinner party, not to accept any gift, not to listen to flattery, and not to do any personal favor. Cadres at all levels have strictly followed the system of participation in collective productive labor. Large groups of cadres at the county and commune levels, with baggage and farm tools on their backs, have gone to the rural areas to join the poor and lower-middle peasants in grasping revolution and

promoting production. This has given a boost not only to work in the rural areas but also to ideological revolutionization of the cadres ranks. We have also carried out regular education among the cadres and masses, asking them to compare the present with the past and to contrast the present happiness with past misery. We have organized them to visit the "paupers' cooperative" exhibition hall, briefed them on how the "paupers' cooperative" has thrived on hardship and become prosperous, and taught them to carry forward the revolutionary spirit of "paupers."

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we have won one victory after another in socialist revolution and socialist construction. In the course of the movement to study the theory of dictatorship of the proletariat, we will go a step further in maintaining and enhancing the "paupers'" spirit and struggle to combat and prevent revisionism as well as consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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Educate Young People with Communist Ideas

by

CYL Branch of Tachai Production Brigade

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, May 1, 1975)

Lenin pointed out: "The task of the Youth League is to arrange its activities in such a way as to enable the young people, in the course of studying and getting organized and united for struggle, to train themselves and all those they lead into communists." Under the Party's leadership, our CYL branch regards educating young people with communist ideas as an important task. We feel that, to really play the role as the Party's aide, the CYL must fulfill this task well by training young people into a staunch proletarian contingent to bear the heavy burden of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and bringing them up as good successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai brigade often say: "To keep the red flag flying for ten thousand generations, the important thing is to educate the younger generation." These are profound words. They point to the tremendous importance of educating young people to play their role in combating and preventing revisionism, in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in carrying the socialist revolution through to the end. The Tachai Party branch often poses us this question: "The older generation has suffered and made great sacrifices to liberate the country and establish a new life. What will you young people do in the future?" Our CYL branch has organized CYL members and other young people to discuss this question. With the help of old Party members, old cadres and old poor peasants, we have recalled the sufferings of poor and lower-middle peasants in the old society and the road Tachai has taken from mutual-aid teams to cooperative to people's commune. It may be clearly seen that in taking every step forward Tachai invariably has had struggle--against revisionism, capitalism, class enemies, self-interest in people's minds, the force of old habits, heaven and earth, mountains and rivers. All this is for the sake of the socialist cause and the realization of communism. Tachai struggled yesterday, is struggling today, and will continue to struggle tomorrow. The heavy burden of continuing the struggle falls on the shoulders of our younger generation.
The task of the struggle ahead in all fields and at every stage of revolutionary development is to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie to make it impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise all the way until communism is fully achieved. To fulfill such an important task, it is necessary to pay attention to educating CYL members and young people in general with communist ideas so that they will conscientiously follow Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the historical period of socialism, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to win over the younger generation is very acute.

This struggle is going on every day at Tachai. Especially in the face of our victory, the class enemies are attacking our young people with sugar-coated bullets, which are immeasurably more powerful than real guns. The bourgeoisie is trying in every way possible to lure and corrupt young people with the aim of making us go back to capitalism. For our part, the purpose of educating young people to consciously take the initiative to wage a sustained struggle against corrosion is to beat back the bourgeois offensive and adhere to the socialist road. A most important aspect of communist education carried out among CYL members and other youngsters is to combat corrosion. A young cadre of our brigade once severely criticized the daughter-in-law of a rich peasant for her mistake in not taking part in collective productive labor. During the Spring Festival this year, the rich peasant's son made some sweet buns and brought them to the young cadre in his home, saying: "You've been working very hard as a cadre. Please accept this token of my appreciation." The young cadre refused to accept the buns. Why was the young cadre able to do this? Because the old cadres of Tachai who follow Chairman Mao's teachings and refuse to be corrupted have set a good example for him. The young people have learned from their elders,acted according to Chairman Mao's teachings, and always guarded against attacks by sugar-coated bullets, thereby increasing their immunity. Seizing this incident, our CYL branch carried out education on resisting corruption and preventing evolution among CYL members and young people. From the facts, they realized that, to keep to the socialist road and advance toward the grand goal of communism, it is necessary to display the spirit of keeping away from contamination, to oppose and resist corrosion by bourgeois ideology. One must never forget the fundamental interests of the proletariat because of some personal "favors" received. Then in one struggle after another against corruption, we have observed profoundly that education of young people must be conducted on a long-term basis, and should not be intensified during a campaign and then relaxed when the campaign is over. The moment the proletariat lowers its guard, the bourgeoisie will find it easy to attack. As long as we firmly grasp education of young people, the bourgeoisie will not be able to find a way to corrupt them.

To train young people into communists, it is necessary to educate them to make the most radical rupture with traditional ideas of private ownership. Lenin said: "Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale." To take over the revolution, young people must struggle against the force of habit of small producers. At first, some people could not understand this. They felt that, born and brought up under the red flag, young people had never lived in the old society and are good socialist new people. This notion prompted us to organize CYL members and other young people to study the various manifestations of capitalist tendencies among young people and to explain with facts that, although young people had never lived in the old society, they do live in a society in which there are still classes, and the force of old habits is still harming them. To free themselves from the influence of the remnants of small production, young people must use the iron broom of the proletariat to sweep away the dust on their bodies. In this regard, we have constantly taught CYL

members and young people to destroy evil before it grows. In particular, the older people of Tachai are deeply concerned about the young people, promptly commending what is good in them, criticizing bad tendencies among them the moment they are discovered, and patiently persuading and educating them in a penetrating and meticulous way. Take a minor incident for example. The fruit trees on the Hutou Mountain are laden with fruit in the fall every year, to the delight of everyone. But none would pick and eat it at will. One day a young man hid himself among the threes, picked some fruit and ate it. After discovering this, the Party branch criticized him. Then some people said: "There is so much fruit here, it doesn't matter to eat some." Thereupon, the CYL branch organized the young people to hold a discussion session on the topic--"Should we or should we not eat some fruit?" The youngsters compared this incident with the old cadres' good style of work. There was a collectively owned persimmon tree in front of the house of Party branch deputy secretary Liang Pien-liang. One night a persimmon was blown to the ground. When Liang rose the next morning, he picked it up and turned it in to the bookkeeper of the brigade in the mess hall. He said: "Not a single blade of grass owned by the collective can be turned from public into private property." Comparing these two incidents made it clear that the question of "whether the fruit should be eaten" reflected the struggle between two kinds of world outlook. Said the young people: "To get rid of weeds, we must use the hoe; to combat self-interest, we must nip it in the bud." A young financial cadre for some time was participating less frequently in collective productive labor. At the same time he was found to have economic connections with a commune member who had been engaged in corruption. Since this was discovered by the masses, we relied on them to criticize and educate him. An old poor peasant told him: "Cadres handling finance in our Tachai follow an old tradition: One, they keep their hands and feet occupied and never forget to take part in productive labor no matter how busy they may be; two, they keep their hands clean and never put what is owned by the collective into their own pockets. When you have power, you must not forget the line and must not let yourself be possessed by ideas of private ownership!" This is the way we carry on a continuous struggle against the idea of private ownership of small producers and all other kinds of erroneous thinking.

In educating young people with communist ideas, we have also developed some useful activities that are lively, dynamic and based on the characteristics of the youth. Take, for example, the running of the evening political school, organizing a literary and art propaganda team, setting up a library, forming a creative writing group, and so forth. The young people are actively taking part in study, writing poetry, drawing pictures, and staging literary and art programs in warm praise of socialist new things and in vigorously fostering the communist style. In this way they have further occupied the ideological and cultural positions. New ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits are being vigorously promoted among the young people. Now the young people do not believe in gods, ghosts, the will of Heaven and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. They believe in Marxism-Leninism. When young people get married, they do not turn to the old habit of giving wedding gifts. Instead, they give books on the revolution and farm tools as gifts. Young women take part in productive labor immediately after they have got married, for they

feel it shameful not to take part in productive labor after getting married. Both young men and women are consciously prepared to marry late and to plan their child-bearing after they have got married. The healthy proletarian wind has prevailed over the unhealthy bourgeois wind.

In the period of socialism, the struggle between moribund capitalism and rising communism goes on. This struggle cannot but find expression among young people. Among young people, there is the possibility that both capitalist things and the early shoots of communism may grow. The responsibility of our CYL organization is to help CYL members and young people get rid of capitalist things in good time and to actively cultivate the early shoots of communism. Lenin said: "To be a member of the Youth League, one must devote one's work and ability to the public cause. This is the essence of communist education." Among our young people in Tachai, this communist spirit is developing all the time. They closely link the development of the Hutou Mountain with support for the world revolution. They wholeheartedly farm for the sake of revolution and never bother about work points. Some young people use their rest hours to watch out for hill fires for the collective without consideration of remuneration. Some gather manure for the fields without having work points recorded. During busy farming work, young people voluntarily start work early and quit late without asking for overtime pay. While working in the fields, they eagerly seek hard, heavy and dirty jobs, yet at work evaluation meetings they never argue about work points. Those who have better skills do not complain about being given fewer work points, and that is also true with those who do heavy work. With their own concrete actions, they have bourgeois right restricted on the question of distribution and let communist factors develop. This communist spirit is actively supported and encouraged by our CYL branch.

"Communism cannot be realized by comfortably sitting back to wait, but only when we toil in the death-defying spirit." This is a remark a young man in Tachai wrote in his dairy, a remark which expressed the determination of all CYL members and young people. Among the more than 70 educated young people who have returned to their native village here, more than 40 are senior middle-school graduates. They want to dedicate themselves to the countryside. Why are young people of Tachai willing to return to the countryside after they have finished their schooling and be peasants for the rest of their lives? Why are the girls of Tachai not going to the cities but willingly dedicating their youthful years to the Hutou Mountain? This is because they do not want to be communists in word only, but are determined to restrict bourgeois right and narrow and eventually eliminate the three major differences by their practical action. A few years ago, some people told the returned educated youth: "Do your work well. In future, when the opportunity comes, go out and find a job." When we found out about this, we promptly criticized this kind of thinking. The three major differences now existing are things that young people should be determined to reduce and eliminate. They must not look for opportunities to work for their personal interests. Thus, we educate young people to lead a life of hard struggle in the countryside all their lives. In the past few years, some of the returned

educated young people at Tachai have become stonemasons, some have become blacksmiths, some have been raising hogs, some have been driving horse-carts. Some are now truck drivers or tractor operators, others are forest workers, and still others have become scientific and technical workers. Young people are seen working in all trades and occupations, as successors everywhere. Whatever they do, they like it and specialize in it. In the struggle to build a new Tachai, they fear no hardship, fatigue or sacrifice. Where do they get such drive? From Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and from determination to realize grand ideas of communism. We feel that to succeed the older generation in revolution, it is first of all necessary to follow their example in conscientiously implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and that when we take over the burden of hard struggle, we must not rest on Tachai's laurels and seek material comforts. This is because a new Tachai cannot come about by sitting back and waiting and can only be built through hard struggle under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We must continue to struggle. If we chase after material comforts and fear hardship, we may turn revisionist. Therefore, we young people must not merely ask the older people to tell us their sufferings in the old society, but, what is more important, we must consciously endure hardship in the battle to build socialism. The purpose of enduring such hardship is to prevent the poor and lower-middle peasants from suffering again and to enable working people the world over to free themselves from the hardships of exploitation and oppression. This is the reason why we derive happiness from enduring hardships. Such is the communist concept of hardship and happiness that we teach young people to establish.

From practice we have come to understand that, to educate young people with communist ideas, it is fundamental that they be organized to "read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism." In recent years, in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and that to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have strengthened the organization and leadership for CYL members and young people to study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works. In study, we have stressed the need to integrate theory with practice and to make an effort to remold our world outlook. We understand that if we study theory through practice the more we study, the more enthusiastic we will become, and we will progress step by step. Today, many young people have read "Communist Manifesto," "The State and Revolution," "Critique of the Gotha Program" and other Marxist-Leninist works. Some are now studying the four volumes of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung." And young people are now positively studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We organize 24 young men and women to set up two backbone groups for theoretical study, and to persist in studying one to two hours every evening. By studying ahead of others, they will arouse all the other young people to take up study as well. We are resolved--in accordance with Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory--to organize CYL members and young people to read more Marxist-Leninist works, to master them well on the plane of integrating theory with practice so as to achieve the desired effects in thinking and action. By so doing, we shall further arm CYL members and all other young people with communist ideas and bring up reliable successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

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Seriously Carry Out the Policy of Having Better Troops and Simpler Administration

by

CCP Tali Hsien Committee

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, May 1, 1975)

Chairman Mao has consistently instructed us to carry out the principle of better troops and simpler administration, as it is an important measure in restricting bourgeois right. During the great proletariat cultural revolution, we criticized the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and drawing on the past experiences of over-staffed organs estranged from reality and the masses, we trimmed the 41 bureaus and departments in our hsien to 22 and reduced the number of cadres from 414 to 313. This helped promote revolutionization of our offices. But judging from a period of practice, there was still the problem that "the head is heavy while the feet are light." In early 1973, when we studied the advanced experience of Hsiyang turned into a Tachai-type hsien, we were deeply impressed. We unanimously agreed that the key to learning from Tachai in agriculture rested with the line and the hsien Party committee, and that the leading organs must be revolutionized. Impelled by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work, we were resolved to further simplify the administration, reinforce the grassroots level, and strengthen the frontline of agriculture.

The moment we worked out a plan to further simplify administration, it was supported by the higher Party committee and endorsed by the broad masses. But we also met with some resistance. Some cadres believed that in view of the heavy tasks involved, our offices should not be further trimmed. Some were afraid that work at the hsien level would be weakened after leading bodies were retrenched. Others thought it was "inglorious" to go down to the grassroots level. Still others, being afraid of hardship and strenuous work, were reluctant to work in grassroots units. To overcome these ideological obstacles, we held a study class for administrative cadres and, with the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify workstyle as the key link, organized everyone to seriously study Chairman Mao's important directives such as: "The most fundamental thing in the reform of state organs is to maintain ties with the masses," "we should simplify the administrative structure, reform irrational rules and regulations, and send office personnel down to the grassroots level" and "we must be both 'officials' and common people." Deeper criticism of Liu Shao-ch'i's and Lin Piao's revisionist line raised the understanding of the vital significance of better troops and simpler administration. On this basis, we transferred from the organs of the hsien Party and revolutionary committees 112 cadres (one-third of the total number of Party and state cadres at the hsien level) to reinforce the various communes, thus changing the situation in which "the head is heavy while the feet are light" and bringing about remarkable changes in the cadres' way of thinking and the outlook of administrative organs.

It is not difficult to simplify the administrative structure, but to persist in doing so on a long-term basis is not easy. After this is done, there are fewer persons operating various departments, but this

comes into sharp conflict with the old style of administrative work. Some cadres think that with a small staff and a lot of things to be done, they can only cope with the daily routine business, that they are not able to go deep into the grassroots level, let alone having time to conduct investigation and study or participate in collective production labor. Using various excuses, some departments request additional offices and manpower, or simply borrow cadres from subordinate units at will. Some of the cadres sent to the grassroots level still want to return and cannot work at the basic level with a composed mind. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, with these ideological problems in mind and in the form of a workstyle rectification, we organized the cadres to study and hold discussions, enabling them to recognize that there still existed a struggle between advance and retreat over the question of better troops and simpler administration. The policy of better troops and simpler administration is an important policy for building proletarian power. Simplifying the upper strata and reinforcing the basic strata conforms to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and meets the needs of the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. The general orientation is correct. Everyone was thus resolved to reform those old ideas and practices that did not conform to the needs of revolution and construction with the help of proletarian ideas and practices and to march ahead to consolidate the achievements gained in simplifying the administrative structure.

In order to persist in simplifying the administrative structure, we have stressed the following tasks:

One, continue to strengthen education in ideology and political line and guide the cadres to further recognize the vital significance of simpler and better administration. Bearing in mind the ideological reversals on the issue of simpler and better administration, we organized the cadres to seriously study Chairman Mao's instruction "Get rid of overlapping administrative organs, simplify the administrative structure, and organize a revolutionized leading body with close ties with the masses," and to criticize Lin Piao's absurdities regarding simplification of administration and sending cadres to the grassroots level. Everyone was able through study and discussion to further recognize that the need for state organs to form close ties with the masses was determined by the nature of proletarian power, showing the essential difference between us and the "court officials" of the old society. In advocating the Confucian-Mencian doctrines, saying that "the highest are wise and the lowest are stupid," in viciously throwing mud at the working people, and in attacking the policy of better troops and simpler administration and that of sending cadres to the grassroots level, Lin Piao wanted nothing else but to transform our cadres into spiritual aristocrats lording it over the masses and to turn our leading organs into "yamens" /courts/ detached from practice and the masses in order to attain his sinister aim of reviving capitalism. Fundamentally speaking, having better troops and simpler administration is an important question in overcoming bureaucracy, avoiding revisionism, consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, and preventing capitalist restoration. It is also an

important way for us to form close ties with the masses. With a correct ideological and political line, and with the positive factors of all quarters brought into play, it will be easier to resolve the various problems arising from simplification of the administrative structure.

Two, overcome the "five excesses," cut down on routine work, and better orient office work to the basic level. In the past, there were quite a lot of idealist things in our work. For example, there were comparatively more meetings and documents. Some meetings did not attend to practical results. Some documents were not helpful to practical work. This wasted the energy of the leadership and added to the burden of grassroots units. Since the administrative organs were simplified, we have adopted some measures. First, we reduce meetings to a minimum while improving the quality of meetings held. Meetings that could be held at grassroots level were not held at the hsien level; meetings that could be held separately were not concentrated; and meetings that could be combined were combined. We encouraged short meetings and short speeches, with more attention paid to practical results rather than to form. In 1974, except for meetings to convey the Central Committee's directives, hsien-level meetings attended by cadres from communes or production teams were considerably reduced in number. Second, leading cadres go to the grassroots level to obtain first-hand information through personal investigation and refrain from issuing documents without substance. Third, in accordance with the principle of "centralized power on major issues and decentralized power on minor issues. The Party committee makes the decisions and various quarters carry them out," we give full scope to the role of all departments, so that the hsien Party committee can free itself from routine matters and better devote itself to major matters. In this way, leaders and cadres, liberated from routinism, can have more time to go deep into the grassroots level, grasp selected spots to direct the work of the entire area, take part in production labor, conduct investigation, and do their work well.

Three, get hold of typical examples, promote work in the whole area by drawing upon experience gained in a spot, and further impove the work style and methods of leadership. A common fault of the old style of administrative work was lack of a deep insight into work and being contented with general calls as if "what is said means what is done." After simplifying the administrative structure, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction "Typical examples must be stressed" and "we should promote work in the whole area by first grasping one-third of it," we made substantial improvement in the work style of the hsien committee leadership, persisted in going deep into the grassroots level, worked in selected units, and promoted work of the whole area by drawing on experience from a spot. Seven out of the ten standing committee members of the hsien Party committee regularly go to the grassroots level, with the old and the sick excepted. In 1974 the standing committee spent over one-third of its time at the grassroots level, with each member taking part in collective productive labor for an average of 65 days for the whole year. At the grassroots level and while doing labor, they made a point of carrying out investigation and study, finding and training advanced models and promptly summing up and popularizing experience created by the masses.

We focused our main attention on four brigades, which played a part in promoting the hsien-wide movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we grasped Leipei brigade of Fanchia commune, an advanced model, and summed up and popularized its experience in giving full play to the main-force role of the poor and lower-middle peasants, in learning from Hsiaochinchuang's evening political school, and in fostering a contingent of peasant theorists. We also took the cotton planting group of Changchiachuang brigade of Shihtsao commune as the model and a hundred cotton planting groups as key points in starting a massive drive to produce more cotton. In this way, we held a firm grip of the entire situation and with models at our finger tips, we achieved more practical and remarkable results in the direction of work.

Four, adhere to the Party's mass line and give full scope to the role of grassroots organizations and mass organizations. Through the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify workstyle and that to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our consciousness of carrying out the mass line has been further enhanced. In all spheres of work, we have given full play to the role of such mass organizations as the poor peasants' association, the trade union, the women's association and the Communist Youth League, and attached importance to arousing the enthusiasm of commune and brigade cadres. Over major issues, we generally first consult the communes and ask for their opinions, so that basic-level comrades can know what is going on and work actively. In the past, many things were done at the upper level and there were not enough commune cadres to deal with the heavy load of work. Today, all the communes have their own plans and actively develop their work in light of actual conditions. Many things which are not even thought of at the hsien level have been done at the lower level. Communes learn from one another and each makes up for its shortcomings with the other's strong points, and so do the brigades to one another. No more does the hsien Party committee have to urge people to work, and thus it can devote itself to grasping the line and major matters. Work at the upper and lower levels is done with initiative.

Five, correctly handle the relations between the central work and the work of departments so as to enable all trades and occupations to orient themselves to taking agriculture as the foundation. We realize that the problem is not heavy load of work but the failure to grasp central work, because when we grasp the central work, we can work actively in other fields. Therefore, we constantly educate and help the cadres of all departments to strengthen the concept of the whole and to link up their own routine work with the central work of the Party. During the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, we guided the various units to deepen criticism of the revisionist line, raising the line consciousness of the cadres and the masses and making them conscientiously gear themselves to the rural areas to support agriculture and enhance their conception of the whole. Departments such as industrial and transport, financial and trade and public health departments have selected their more capable cadres to work in the rural areas. Commercial

and health departments have also dispatched small aid-agriculture teams to deliver goods, to purchase farm products, and to provide medical services to the villagers. Financial and trade departments have set up more than 80 aid-agriculture points throughout the whole hsien, and have their workers stay with brigades all year round to participate in the entire process of production so as to carry out all kinds of aid-agriculture activities within their abilities. This has not only effectively promoted the development of agricultural production, but also helped broaden the path of financial and trade work.

Over the past few years, due to our persistent effort to simplify and improve the administrative structure, profound changes have occurred in office work and in the thought of cadres. After going to the grassroots level, the cadres have built closer ties with the masses, and while transforming the objective world, they have also transformed their own subjective world, cleansing their minds of idealistic spirit, rejecting the corruption of bourgeois ideology, effectively overcoming bureaucracy and promoting ideological revolutionization. Tempered by labor and basic-level work, old cadres have taken on a new spiritual outlook and new cadres have grown stronger. In the three great revolutionary movements, they fight against class enemies and against bourgeois ideology and old traditional concepts. Their class and line consciousness has been constantly increased, and they have been praised by the broad masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

With large numbers of cadres going to the grassroots level, there has been deeper development of the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. In 1973, the hsien achieved the "Program" targets for grain and cotton. New progress has also been seen in forestry, animal husbandry, sideline productions and fishery. In spite of grave natural disasters in 1974, gross grain output for that year still surpassed the highest historical level.

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: To have better troops and simpler administration aimed at "simplicity, centralization, efficiency, economy and opposition to bureaucracy." According to this demand, our work still leaves much to be desired. Recently, through study of Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, we have further recognized that having better troops and simpler administration and transferring cadres to the grassroots level will help break the idea of bourgeois right and reduce the three great differences. We are determined to seriously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, further solve the problems existing in ideology, style of work, organization and systems, persist in having better troops and simpler administration, consolidate and develop the victorious results of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, intensify the dictatorship of the proletariat, and unite the people of the entire hsien to win greater victories.

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Persevere in Putting Politics in Command, Criticize Material Incentives

- Investigation report on Talien Locomotive and Rolling Stock Plant

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, May 1, 1975)

In 1974, a new-type internal combustion engine made its appearance on the busy railway tracks. Designing and manufacturing this kind of East Wind Model-4 internal combustion engine with four thousand horse power is the responsibility of Talien Locomotive and Rolling Stock Plant.

This plant was formerly able to produce only internal combustion locomotives with two thousand horse power. Then during the great proletarian cultural revolution, with the shackles of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line shattered, a new-type 4,000-h.p. internal combustion engine was born in this plant. In the two and a half years in which such a switch in production was effected, the plant innovated its old equipment and made more than 1,500 units of new equipment. It built a facility measuring 46,000 square meters. Despite the switchover, output was not reduced, nor was manpower increased. One person almost did the jobs of two.

How has it been possible to arouse such high and sustained socialist enthusiasm? As the plant sees it, it is essential to persevere in putting proletarian politics in command and to criticize material incentives.

In 1972, when work to produce the new engine started, some people suggested that in view of the heavy production tasks, bonuses should be used to boost the "morale" of the workers. The reason was that spending a few cents more could yield great benefits. Could it? Many comrades reminded themselves of the lessons prior to the great proletarian cultural revolution. At that time, influenced by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, this plant, practicing material incentives, offered bonuses for jobs done. In addition, there were the so-called "consolation bonuses." As a result, the workers' thinking was gravely eroded, bourgeois ideas of personal gains and losses were encouraged, unity among workers was hampered, the development of revolution and production was hindered. Facts show that material "stimulation" generated not socialist but individualist enthusiasm. Chairman Mao says: "It seems that it won't do not to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories--I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them--leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people among those in charge of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among Party branch secretaries. But they were following that line of Liu Shao-ch'i--simply resorting to material incentives, putting profit in command and, instead of promoting proletarian politics,

handing out bonuses, and so forth." "But there were indeed bad people in the factories." "This showed that the revolution remained unfinished."

What has really happened in this plant has fully borne out Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis. Whether to persist in putting proletarian politics in command or promote material incentives is a question of line, one over which there exists an acute struggle between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the revisionist line. The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. What kind of line to be followed and which class holds the leadership of the factory will decide which class actually owns the factory. If, in an enterprise owned by the whole people, leadership is not in the hands of real Marxists and the worker masses and if material incentives are promoted and profit is put in command while proletarian politics is neglected, then it will change its nature. While it is owned by the whole people in form, it actually comes under the capitalist system of ownership. After summing up the historical experience of the plant, its Party committee had a fresh line education, realizing that bonuses could only generate capitalist enthusiasm, in favor of the bourgeoisie, and not in favor of the proletariat.

After that, the Party committee made a detailed analysis of the thinking of the cadres, seeing that a few cadres who were rather deeply influenced by the revisionist line were still undecided on the question of material incentives even after they were educated in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Some cadres were so used to Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line that "while they know it is impermissible to promote material incentives, yet they know not how to put politics in command." In order to enlighten, through action, cadres on how to separate right from wrong in line, members of the standing committee of the Party committee went to the chassis workshop to conduct an investigation. This workshop was one of the key units in producing the new engine. For one time, discipline was lax, and some old workers who were singlemindedly devoted to the socialist cause were even sneered at by certain persons for doing this kind of work. The masses were aroused to expose the contradictions and to distinguish between right and wrong. Criticism of Lin Piao and the rectification of work style were linked with the actual class and line struggles. It was at last clear that the workshop's poor performance was due not to the fact that there were no bonuses offered to the workers but to the fact that the leading group adopted a compromising attitude toward the struggle between the two classes and the two lines. The reason was not that "egalitarianism" was practiced because of lack of bonuses but that the leading group was unclear about the line and direction. After revolutionary mass criticism was unfolded, the socialist righteous spirit prevailed over the capitalist ill winds. The stuffy air of the workshop was dispelled, followed by an upsurge in revolution and production. Even when the 150 persons who had come to help them were withdrawn, the daily output was raised by 70 percent. The practice of struggle helped the basic-level leading group to raise its consciousness of putting proletarian politics in command and laid the ideological foundation for the production of the East Wind Model-4 Engine.

In early 1973, just when the broad masses of workers were vigorously involved in a socialist labor emulation drive to produce the new engine, the material incentive winds were again stirred up in certain areas. Some people even brought along "material incentive plans" and asked the plant for its opinions. In the face of these ill winds, some cadres again "wavered." Why did this happen even after repeated criticism of material incentives? This incident caused the plant Party committee to realize that the struggle over whether to put proletarian politics in command or to promote material incentives will never stop just because we have launched several revolutionary mass criticism campaigns. To advance and develop, a socialist enterprise must go on criticizing revisionism. It is impossible to evade the struggle against revisionism. Therefore, the plant Party committee was resolved: In face of these material incentive winds, we can only join the worker masses to resist them and must not divorce ourselves from the masses and bend with such winds. They flatly rejected a suggestion to experiment with material incentives in the plant, and led the workers to penetratingly criticize material incentives, putting bonuses in command and other manifestations of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line in operating enterprises. They also criticized Lin Piao's reactionary fallacies smearing the workers and peasants, saying that they only thought of "how to make money to buy rice." Meanwhile, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching "We should spread communist ideas more widely," they energetically publicized the Tach'ing spirit and the heroic deeds of the iron man Wang Chin-hsi, the brilliant model of the working class. They also made a point of discovering advanced models with the communist labor attitude in the plant, commending their advanced ideas of managing and transforming the enterprise as masters and doing work without consideration of pay or working conditions. Advanced models played a part in greatly educating and inspiring the worker masses. New socialist ideas of comparing work zeal and contributions made have taken shape.

Revolutionary mass criticism enhances the consolidation and development of the comrade-type relations among men within an enterprise. In the past, under the influence of the revisionist line, workers doing miscellaneous jobs were looked down upon because they had no skills or status. After material incentives were criticized, we all realized that in a socialist enterprise, there is only division of work and no distinction between the noble and the mean. Respected, workers doing miscellaneous jobs have greatly enhanced their enthusiasm, sending materials to the workshops in a systematic and coordinated manner, and are called the "bridge builders." Before the great cultural revolution, the various sections, groups and workshops, in eagerly seeking material incentives, cared only for themselves, but today, they unite with and help one another. The socialist spirit of cooperation has been displayed. In switching to the production of the new engine, the iron-casting workshop not only had to accomplish its own technical reform task but also had to help other workshops by casting the needed equipment for them. They themselves many times suspended their own task and worked on those of others in order to assure speedy completion of the switchover. The tools workshop, bearing in mind that the chassis workshop urgently needed 25 sets of new punching molds, made them available after working around the clock for nine days.

Elated, the workers said: "We move like a coordinated chess game. The water of the Dragon River flows across the whole plant. We are a socialist enterprise in every sense."

Chairman Mao has always stressed the need for Party organizations to show concern for the livelihood of the masses and wholeheartedly promote their welfare. He pointed out: "When we do this, the broad masses will surely support us and take revolution as their life and as a glorious banner." The plant Party committee observed that sincerely caring for the masses does not mean promoting material incentives or granting small favors. Instead, it is necessary to insist on cadres going among the masses, being the first to suffer and the last to enjoy, taking the lead in developing the communist spirit, sharing the weal and woe with the rank and file and conveying the concern of the Party and Chairman Mao to them.

In the process of directing technical reform in the enterprise, they combine the effort to increase production with that to improve working conditions ,trying to economize on equipment, manpower and time by means of technical innovation, and doing away with attrition tactics that only involve exertion of sheer physical power. So, in the whole process of the switchover, the plant introduced more than 10,000 items of technical innovation, established 53 automatic lines, and successfully experimented with 34 new technological processes, new techniques and new material, basically eliminating sheer heavy physical labor, greatly improving working conditions, and raising labor efficiency. In the past, the iron-casting workers had to work with their hands almost engulfed in a fog of dust. Now the concentration of power and dust has been reduced by 10 percent, and mechanization and automation have been realized as well. In the past, the chassis workshop demanded high labor intensity and the noise was deafening; this situation has now been altered. Gone are the days when "nine riveters out of ten are deaf."

Besides, wherever possible, the plant Party committee exerts its effort to improve the workers' material and cultural life and to expand collective welfare facilities. It gathered them to make bricks and cement to build a new housing project covering over 21,000 square meters, and to reconstruct the workers' messhall. The number of wards in the workers hospital was increased, a pharmacy was set up, and medical facilities were improved. In addition, an evening political and cultural school was established and a spare-time cultural and art propaganda team was organized to enrich the cultural life of the workers.

Concern shown by the Party organization for the workers' livelihood has even more aroused the workers' political zeal and labor enthusiasm. An old worker of the chassis workshop had been working outdoors for more than 30 years, straightening rolled steel by manual labor. In the course of technical reform, the Party branch urged everyone to think out ways to produce a straightening line operating indoors. The old worker said with great emotion: "Two different lines beget two different kinds of results. Indeed, the more I work, the more I want to work."

The 4,000-h.p. internal combustion engines are how being produced in quantity, but the struggle has not come to an end. Chairman Mao pointed out recently: As for bourgeois rights, "these can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Both cadres and the rank and file of Talien Locomotive and Rolling Stock Plant, seriously studying Chairman Mao's important instruction, have further understood that to persist in putting proletarian politics in command, we must restrict bourgeois right, and that promoting material incentives will extend bourgeois right. The struggle between restriction and anti-restriction of bourgeois right will go on for a long time. They are determined more consciously to persist in putting proletarian politics in command, criticize capitalist tendencies, restrict bourgeois right and fight for the further consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Investigation Team of CCP Lüta Municipal Committee and Liao-ning Jih-pao reporter

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School Should Be a Tool for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

by

the CCP Committee of Chaoyang Agricultural College

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, May 1, 1975)

Chaoyang Agricultural College, situated in between two mountain gullies several tens of li from Chaoyang Town, runs such specialties as agricultural science, cultivation of fruit trees, animal husbandry and veterinary science and farmland water conservation. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian line in education, in operating a school in the countryside, we insist on students "coming from and returning to the communes" as a means of bringing up new peasants with socialist consciousness and modern knowledge of agricultural science and technology. Since the founding of the college in 1970, nearly ten thousand agricultural production technical backbone elements have been trained for the communes and brigades through short-term classes. Of the 167 graduates from regular classes, the overwhelming majority have returned to their communes and brigades to be peasants. The poor and lower-middle peasants give us great support in running school in this way. They say: "For agricultural college graduates to be peasants pleases us more than anything else."

Chairman Mao pointed out recently: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to make this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism." Studying this important instruction of Chairman Mao's in conjunction with the practice of the educational revolution warms our heart. We deeply feel that the two-line struggle on the educational front is, in the final analysis, a struggle over whether or not to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. In order to turn our school into a tool for the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must restrict bourgeois right, insist that students must not only come from among workers and peasants but also return to them, and bring up laborers with socialist consciousness and culture. The process in which our College has developed is precisely a process in which schools ruled by bourgeois intellectuals have been transformed into tools for the dictatorship of the proletariat in compliance with the Party's basic line.

Bring Up Laborers with Socialist Consciousness and Culture

To train successors for which class--this is the basic hallmark of a school becoming a tool for the dictatorship of that class. As early as 1957, our great leader Chairman Mao had clearly pointed out: "Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically, and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." In order to become a tool for the dictatorship of the proletariat, a school must earnestly implement this great directive of Chairman Mao's. A great historical task of the proletariat

in this historical period of socialism is to gradually create conditions which make it impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or to emerge again. However, the educational position has long been a hotbed nurturing bourgeois intellectuals. The proletarian revolution in education is precisely aimed at getting rid of this hotbed breeding the bourgeoisie so that a school may become a melting pot nurturing laborers with socialist consciousness and culture.

Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, since some of our comrades had not got clear about the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat nor about the basic truth that the school is a tool for a class dictatorship, they were unable to correctly understand and implement Chairman Mao's directive. On the contrary, they were attracted to Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line in education and went all out to carry it out. A bourgeois agricultural college was supposed to turn out "agricultural scientists" or "agro-technicians." In order to "distinguish" itself from a bourgeois college, the former body of our college, Shenyang Agricultural College, was crowned with the word "Red," which meant training of "Red agricultural scientists" and persons of that sort. In this way, the problem seemed to have been solved. However, this was not the case. Because it still emphasized personal fame and achievement and personal struggle, it could only lead the children of workers and peasants to take the road of bourgeois intellectuals.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, in order to effectively criticize Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, we went deep into the rural areas to carry out an investigation. Many facts that came to light shocked us. The poor and lower-middle peasants said: "Graduates of Shenyang Agricultural College were arrogant but not capable. They were reluctant to stay in the countryside to do farm work." This was true indeed. Shenyang Agricultural College, during more than a decade of its existence, had turned out 7,000 graduates, but very few of them really wanted to go to the countryside to work for socialist agriculture. After four years of college education, some students of poor and lower-middle peasant origin became totally estranged from the workers and peasants. As people say, "they were indigenous in the first year, became modern in the second year, could not recognize their parents in the third year, and did not want to go home in the fourth year." When criticizing the old education, Lenin pointed out: "In such schools the young workers and peasants are enslaved by the bourgeoisie rather than receiving education." Indignantly, the workers and peasants said: "With students learning agriculture but not cherishing and devoting themselves to agriculture, such colleges should have been closed long ago!"

Summing up these serious historical lessons raised our consciousness of the need to implement Chairman Mao's educational line. We realized that we must not take the road of the former agricultural colleges any longer. In order to serve the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and serve the development of the socialist economic base, an agricultural college must bring up new peasants with socialist consciousness and modern knowledge of agricultural science and technology. In 1970, we moved to the rural areas to undertake struggle-criticism-transformation,

thus taking the first step in educational revolution. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction "Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years' study," we held short-term training classes with students "coming from and returning to the communes." This meant that students should come from among peasants in communes and brigades and should return to their communes and brigades to become peasants after graduation. Later, we operated a three-year course, but the principle "from and back to communes" was still followed.

For agricultural colleges to bring up new-type peasants is a challenge to bourgeois right, and they are bound to come under attack from old traditional concepts. Some say: "This will destroy education." Others remark: "What a pity that a college graduate becomes a peasant!" Are these views right? Chairman Mao says: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so on. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Whether to restrict or extend bourgeois right is an important aspect of the two-line struggle. Students brought up by old colleges ruled by the revisionist educational line slighted workers and peasants and despised the rural areas and manual labor. Bringing up such students can only extend bourgeois right and widen the three major differences, and this exactly suits the bourgeoisie in subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. Agricultural colleges, by bringing up new peasants, rebel against the old tradition of the exploiting class that "one who excels in study becomes an official," destroy the ladder by which one climbs up to the privileged stratum through going to school, and build the bridge through which to turn the laboring people into intellectuals and vice versa and to gradually eliminate the three major differences. This is necessary for restricting bourgeois right, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration. If the fact that college graduates return to the workers and peasants will "destroy education," then, it is bourgeois education that is destroyed. And this is precisely an important task to be accomplished by the dictatorship of the proletariat. "There is no construction without destruction." The destruction of bourgeois education implies the birth of proletarian education, and this is something to celebrate. College graduates who "come from and then return to their communes" are by far superior to graduates of the former agricultural colleges, either in respect to socialist consciousness or ability to use agricultural knowledge to solve actual problems. A graduate, on returning to his commune, persistently took the socialist road. When he discovered that some people were going back by calling for "fixing output quotas on a group's basis and distributing more when more is produced," he firmly struggled against them. After studying in our college for one year, an old poor peasant has further raised his awareness of the need to continue the revolution. Beaten by the hail, each plant in the cotton fields had no more than one boll on the average. Combining the scientific theory he had learned with his rich practical experiences, this peasant adopted some effective measures and was able to maintain per-mow output of ginned cotton at 30 catties. These examples show that colleges, by bringing up new workers and peasants instead of spiritual aristocrats, have opened vast prospects for creating a mammoth contingent of proletarian intellectuals. Is this a "pity"? It is most gratifying!

Thoroughly Reform the Old Educational System and Methods of Teaching

We cannot bring up laborers with both socialist consciousness and culture by copying the old educational system and policies and methods of teaching. An old bottle can be filled with new wine, but the old educational system and policies and methods of teaching not only cannot bring up successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, but will also turn children of workers and peasants into bourgeois successors. This is because a whole set of educational institutions, policies and methods that took shape over several thousand years of feudal society and several hundred years of capitalist society, from students enrollments and examinations to allocation, and from curricula and teaching material to methods of teaching, gave expression to the interests and wishes of the exploiting classes and served the creation of spiritual aristocrats and slave servants for the exploiting classes. They were a means for the landlord and bourgeois classes to exercise cultural autocracy over the laboring people. Inheriting and copying them mean to continue the bourgeois dictatorship in the educational sphere. After the liberation of the whole country, Liu Shao-ch'i and company submitted that in the educational field, schools should "basically be the same as before." Old agricultural colleges were thus set up in large cities in accordance with this counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Students were locked in the campus. "Intellectual education is put first" and "marks are in command." As a result, education was seriously separated from proletarian politics, from workers and peasants and from the three great revolutionary movements. Students were gravely corrupted. In order to train laborers with socialist consciousness and culture, it is essential to follow Chairman Mao's directive "education must be revolutionized," thoroughly reform the old educational system, policies and methods of teaching, and oppose the revisionist educational line.

Chairman Mao not only set us the strategic task of bringing up laborers with both socialist consciousness and culture, but in such directives as "May 7" and "July 21" directives and in his letter to the Kiangsi Communist Labor College clearly pointed to the way for fulfilling this task. To oppose the revisionist line in education, we must honestly take the road of running schools as charted by Chairman Mao.

As early as 1958, Chairman Mao pointed out that it was wrong to set up agricultural colleges in cities and that they should all be moved to the countryside. For many years all types of colleges were set up in cities, and agricultural colleges were no exception. It seemed as if they could not be run unless they were set up in cities. In his letter to the Kiangsi Communist Labor College, Chairman Mao commended the college for holding its classes on the various hilltops in the province, with only a few classes held in the flatland. This is not only a question of location, but concerns the great strategic plan for creating conditions for gradually reducing the differences between town and country. In accordance with Chairman Mao's directive, we have not only moved the college to the countryside, but have also set up basic points for scientific teaching in key communes in six counties of the region. In this way, the classroom has become much bigger, there have been more teachers and topics for scientific

research, and a favorable environment has been created for bringing up new peasants with socialist consciousness and culture and for reforming the existing ranks of teachers.

That the college is set up in the rural areas has merely provided the conditions for transforming the old colleges. To turn students into laborers with socialist consciousness and culture, it is also necessary to "put proletarian politics in command" right from the start of student enrollment and give first place to raising their "socialist consciousness". To serve the socialist economic base, a school should not simply interpret its task as raising productivity. The important question is whether its students are willing to return to the workers and peasants upon graduation, and, when they do return, whether they will keep to the socialist road. In enrolling students, the principal criterion we observe is whether they are determined to dedicate their lives to being new peasants with socialist consciousness and culture. When students come to the school, they do not change their registration, for they think they still belong to the production teams where they have come from and the production teams concerned still take them as their members. But, can we think that there are no more ideological problems after students are selected from among the peasants and sent to the school? No. A school is not a vaccum, and the struggle between the two classes and two kinds of ideology in society will surely be reflected in the thinking of the students, not to mention the fact that such a college bringing up new peasants is a new thing and that inevitably students entertain all kinds of ideas. "All work of the school is aimed at changing the students' thinking." This requires that we put the study of Marxist theories in the first place, take the class struggle as the main subject, and help students establish the proletarian world outlook so that they can strike root in the countryside to make revolution, adhere to the socialist road, boldly struggle against capitalist tendencies, and become fighters battling to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, we should also urge them to strive to master the advanced agricultural science and technology and make contributions toward developing agricultural production and agricultural science. In teaching, we should smash the former college's practice of setting up "three centers" and enforce the policy of "going up and down several times." "Up" means that students should carry out their study in the school in conjunction with scientific research and production tasks, divide their time between work and study, and work diligently and study frugally. "Down" means that they should return to the communes and brigades which sent them to college to participate in the three great revolutionary movements, to receive re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants, and to be trained in an all-round way. This process of "going up and down several times" is marked throughout by the integration of intellectuals with workers and peasants, the combination of popularization with raising of standards and the combination of teaching with scientific research and production. An agricultural college is not only a school but also a scientific research center as well as a production team. Its students are not only researchers but also workers as well as peasants. In this way, the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants will become the main force for the educational revolution to break the monopoly of education by intellectuals. In this way, teaching on the basis of the

dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge shatters the prolonged domination of teaching by idealism and metaphysics. As students spend more and more time going back to their brigades to engage in practice year after year, they naturally find it easy to make the transition back to their communes and brigades upon graduation.

It is precisely because a series of reforms has been effected in the system and methods of teaching that it is possible to enable students who come from poor and lower-middle peasants to return to them and to persist in building socialism in the countryside. Without such a system and methods of teaching and if "intellectual education first" and "running school with doors closed" are still practiced, it will be difficult for students to go back, and when they do go back, to strike root. Alternatively, they may be so "proud" of their skills that they despise the poor and lower-middle peasants. When the first group of our graduates returned to become peasants, many of them were besieged and attacked by the old force of habit. Some people asked: "What will become of a college graduate if he doesn't become a cadre?" "What prospect does a college graduate have if he becomes a peasant?" Some had jobs found for them in cities by their families. But they resisted such attack. Working in the communes and brigades, they honestly offer their knowledge to the poor and lower-middle and pledge to turn their village into a Tachai. Therefore, the policy of having students "come from and return to communes" cannot be implemented effectively merely by setting a few simple rules governing student enrollment and allocation; it is necessary to carry out radical transformation of the entire system of teaching in an agricultural college.

Crucial Factor Is That the Party Committee Resolutely Implements Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." A basic requirement in turning a school into a tool for the dictatorship of the proletariat is for its Party committee to use the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat to guide the educational revolution and to unswervingly implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. If the "squad" of the Party committee is not clear on the question of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, it will commit errors in work. The former agricultural college before the great cultural revolution also had a Party committee, and this was exactly the reason why it let the bourgeoisie exercise dictatorship over the proletariat. The great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have raised our consciousness of the need to read and study and to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Amid the violent struggle between the two classes, two lines and two kinds of ideology, we have persevered in "studying, criticizing, and working," namely,studying Marxism, criticizing revisionism, and working earnestly to build socialism so as to put Chairman Mao's idea on the educational revolution into practice.

Looking back over the course the college has taken for the last five years, we see that each step forward was accompanied by struggle. There were three major struggles. The first took place after the college was moved to the countryside. Scarcely had half a year passed than some people called for moving the college back to the city. They said that

where the school should be located was not important. This was a divergence between the two lines on school operation. We thought that for an agricultural college to strike root in the rural areas and to integrate itself with the poor and lower-middle peasants and productive labor was dictated by the need to bring up new peasants with socialist consciousness and culture, a starting point for it to become a tool for proletarian dictatorship Wasn't it idle to talk about bringing up new peasants without contact with the countryside and agricultural production? Thereupon, we organize all teachers and students to study again Chairman Mao's letter of instruction to the Kiangsi Communist Labor College. Pledging to "raise high the banner of the Resist-Japan College, take the road of Communist Labor College, and turn our college into the same type of college," they further hardened their determination to run the school in the countryside.

The second struggle took place in 1972. Some people said that the college, by bringing up graduates who "come from and return to communes" had "exceeded the actual needs of the rural areas." They said that the college was a "product of the ultra-Left line" and even asked the Party committee to make an examination. This was a concrete manifestation in our college of reactionary ideas aimed at restoring capitalism. We went deep into the countryside to carry out an investigation, when we found that the poor and lower-middle peasants warmly welcomed the practice of having students "come from and return to the communes." They said this should have been done long ago. For college graduates to become peasants was dictated by the urgent need to develop a socialist new countryside and conformed with the socialist economic base. Chairman Mao says: "The condition of the peasantry has a great bearing on the development of our economy and the consolidation of our political power." How can the existence of an agricultural college be justified if it is not oriented toward the countryside and toward bringing up peasants? Those people who condoned the practice of the old college in not sending students to the countryside to engage in farming but who condemn our college for bringing up new peasants are actually in favor of going back to the revisionist road in running schools. Under the leadership of the Provincial Party Committee, we led both teachers and students to make thorough criticism of the ultra-Right essence of Lin Piao's revisionist line, thereby firmly resisting the ill winds.

The third struggle took place in the second half of 1973, with some people saying that the water conservation speciality was "something special." They proposed: the water conservation speciality concerns the whole province and students should be recruited from the "county and higher levels," not "from and back to communes." Although the water conservation speciality in our agricultural college has a peculiar nature, the basic point of its service, like that of the agricultural speciality, is still located in the countryside, communes and brigades. It is perfectly right for graduates to return to the countryside, to communes and brigades. In truth, the "theory of peculiar nature" does not favor sending college graduates back to the workers and peasants but favors opening a back door for one to "become an official after schooling." Riding on the strong East wind of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, we analyzed this "theory" and raised the revolutionary awareness of teachers

and students. The students of the water conservation speciality one after the other expressed their determination to break away from the old concepts and pledged to become new peasants.

The practice of the two-line struggle caused us to deeply realize: that the college's Party committee is the combat headquarters of the proletariat to exercise dictatorship over the proletariat in the school. It must seriously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, unswervingly implement Chairman Mao's directive on the educational revolution and do what Chairman Mao asks us to do. We must wholeheartedly rely on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary teachers and students in ruthlessly grasping class struggle and the two-line struggle and in fulfilling the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through to the basic level. Only in this way can we resist the ill winds of capitalism and revisionism whipped up in society, avoid losing our bearing and go on winning victories in the educational revolution.

The educational revolution is a profound social revolution. Over the past years we have accumulated some experiences from practice, but these experiences are still immature and must be tested in struggle to attain gradual perfection. Arduous struggle still lies ahead. We are determined to seriously study the theories of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao on the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end!

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An Important Experience in the Educational Revolution

by

Chung Shih (钟实)

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The great leader Chairman Mao points out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to make this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism" The educational front is an important front of competition for successors between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Only by having a clear idea of the question of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie can we consciously carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, bring up successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause, and make our contributions to the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. On this basic issue, Chaoyang Agricultural College has provided important experience.

In socialist society, there still exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and there exists bourgeois right. On the political, economic and ideological fronts, we must wage the struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, restrict bourgeois right, gradually narrow the three big differences, and "create conditions making it impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or re-emerge." This is a strategic task of prime importance confronting us. As a vital sector of the superstructure, education must strive to accomplish this task. Chairman Mao's instructions on the educational revolution have shown us the way to gradually dig away the soil engendering the bourgeoisie and revisionism in the educational field. However, in the 17 years before the great proletarian cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i and company refused to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line, but vehemently pushed their revisionist educational line. They opposed educating students in the proletarian image and opposed raising their socialist consciousness, but used the reactionary feudal, capitalist and revisionist ideas to corrupt students. Calling on one to become a specialist through personal struggle, they used the concept of private ownership of knowledge to induce them to take knowledge as a commodity, as capital with which to grab personal fame and gain. Liu Shao-ch'i and company opposed college graduates becoming workers and peasants, saying that "one who goes to school should become an official." They institutionalized the practice for one to stay in the city and become a cadre after college education. As a result, many young people, after a few years' college education, tended to slight the workers and peasants, detest the rural areas, and dislike manual labor, and in world outlook became basically bourgeois intellectuals. Lin Piao also used the Confucian and Mencian doctrine of "farming means hunger and schooling means lucrative emolument" to poison the minds of youth and to rabidly attack such socialist new things as the rustication of educated youth. Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and people like them have all attempted to extend bourgeois right, widen the three major differences and expand their social basis so as to attain their criminal aim of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. The proletarian educational revolution aims at thoroughly

shattering the revisionist educational line and its influence and at radically reforming the old educational system, policies and methods of teaching and remolding education according to Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line so as to turn the school into a tool for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the course of the educational revolution, Chaoyang Agricultural College has seriously practiced Chairman Mao's educational policy of training "both socialist-minded and cultured laborers" and initially created a set of experiences for the proper operation of a socialist agricultural college. They put first the raising of students' "socialist consciousness" and use Marxism to educate students, criticize the bourgeoisie and criticize revisionism. They run the school in the countryside. In light of the needs of socialist revolution and construction in the rural areas, they hold classes in separate places. They adopt the "from and back to the commune" system. The students are urged to return to the countryside to firmly take the socialist road and to criticize capitalism boldly. All this will enable college education to contribute toward consolidating and developing the collective economy of rural people's communes and toward building a socialist new countryside. This will help consolidate the worker-peasant alliance and narrow the differences between town and country. They persist in integrating education with productive labor, and intellectuals with workers and peasants, thus enhancing the effort to turn the laboring people into intellectuals and vice versa as well as to reduce the differences between mental and manual labor. That after graduation students willingly become peasants is a challenge to bourgeois right. The way in which Chaoyang Agricultural College is run not only applies to agricultural colleges but also provides beneficial enlightenment on how to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie on the educational front.

At present, an excellent situation prevails on the educational front. Through the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, new things that appeared since the great proletarian cultural revolution have become consolidated and are growing luxuriantly. Revolutionary teachers and students have further raised their consciousness of implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line. On the educational front, the proletarian forces are being continuously strengthened, while the bourgeois forces are being gradually weakened. However, the struggle between the two classes and two lines on the educational front is protracted and acute. The essence of the struggle is still the problem of who exercises dictatorship over whom. Due to the fact that the school was once dominated by bourgeois intellectuals, traditional prejudices of the exploiting classes run very deep and in many respects the bourgeoisie is still dominant. Meanwhile, in society there still exist the force of old habits and the influence of traditional concepts. And Chairman Mao's educational policy and instruction that "students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and should go back to production after a few years' study" have not been fully implemented. Under this situation, is it highly necessary to seriously learn from Chaoyang Agricultural College's proletarian revolutionary spirit and firmly and unswervingly follow the road charted by Chairman Mao? While studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, all schools should, like Chaoyang Agricultural College, proceed from the need to consolidate the

the dictatorship of the proletariat, seriously sum up their own historical experiences and continue to create fresh experiences. This will make our educational revolution go a step further and turn the school into a tool for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chaoyang Agricultural College's experience is many-faceted. To grasp its spirit and essence, it is necessary for all types of schools to study the direction and line in light of the characteristics of their own specialities and concrete conditions. "From and back to the commune" means that an agricultural college graduate should become a peasant, and this is precisely a concrete embodiment of the Chairman Mao's instruction "go back to production." It is an important aspect of Chaoyang Agricultural College's experience. Some people who talk about learning from Chaoyang Agricultural College's experience nevertheless try thier utmost to prevent students from coming from among and returning to workers and peasants. This is wrong. For this actually means that they are reluctant to follow the road of Shanghai Machine Tools Plant as advocated by Chairman Mao. On the other hand, "from and back to the commune" is not the whole experience of Chaoyang Agricultural College. To follow this alone and to separate reform of the student enrollment and allocation system from the entire educational revolution is equally wrong. If we still run schools with closed doors, lock ourselves deep inside the campus, or just have our classrooms moved only in form without getting into the practice of the three major revolutionary movements, without thoroughly reforming the old educational system and methods in accordance with Chairman Mao's educational thinking and without putting the transformation of students' thinking first, then it will be impossible to have students come from and go back to the workers and peasants or attain the objectives of training set by the proletariat.

Some people are worried that learning from and promoting Chaoyang Agricultural College's experience may "result in intellectuals having no successors" and "interfere with the development of scientific and cultural undertakings." First of all, we must look at what kind of intellectuals we have in mind. If we mean those bourgeois intellectuals divorced from workers and peasants and from the three major revolutionary movements, indeed they will have no successors, and this is a goal our educational revolution should achieve. If we mean proletarian intellectuals, what we do will help the laboring people turn into intellectuals and vice versa and make for close integration of intellectuals with workers and peasants and of mental with physical labor, besides greatly speeding up the building of a large contingent. Historically, the separation of mental from physical labor had played a part in developing science and culture, but following the development of social production, the energetic effort made by the exploiting classes to widen the gap and antagonism between mental and physical labor seriously hindered the development of science and culture. In socialist society, differences between mental and physical labor still exist, and to narrow and gradually eliminate these differences requires a long time. If we do not gradually narrow them but, instead, uphold and expand them, we will not only add to the soil engendering the bourgeoisie and revisionism, but will also harm the development of scientific and cultural undertakings. Engels said: "Right from its emergence and development, science has been determined by production." Production practice is the foundatin-head of science. Only by being closely integrated with production will scientific

research acquire strong vitality. A host of facts show that it is difficult to achieve anything by relying only on a few intellectuals doing research in a tower and divorcing themselves from the three major revolutionary movements and from workers and peasants. The scientific and cultural contingents that have grown since the great proletarian cultural revolution have demonstrated increasingly tremendous power. When college graduates go back to workers and peasants, to production, this will surely speed up the growth and improvement of this new scientific and cultural army and will permit China's scientific and cultural undertakings to develop at a high rate. As for some professional people that need to be added to scientific and cultural departments, they can be selected from among the workers and peasants, including those who go back to production after receiving college education. Meanwhile, the professional ranks must also be further integrated with the scientific and cultural contingents of the broad masses of workers and peasants and must get deeply involved in the three major revolutionary movements. Only in this way can they contribute more to scaling new heights in science and culture. Those who think having college graduates go back to workers and peasants will hinder the development of science and culture actually belittle the workers and peasants and slight practice. They hold the same bourgeois viewpoint as Duhring whom Engels long ago criticized for making a rickshaw puller always a rickshaw puller and an architect always an architect. They are defending the monopoly of science and culture by bourgeois intellectuals. This is the crux of the matter.

Lu Hsün said: "No reform has ever been plain sailing." All conservative people "invariably try to thwart any attempt at reform. On the surface, they say this would cause inconvenience to them, actually they are afraid that it may harm them. Yet their excuses for opposing such reform often appear extremely just and noble." What an impressive statement! Chaoyang Agricultural College's educational revolution has gone through the acute struggle between the two classes, two lines and two ways of thinking. Studying and popularizing its experience and deepening the proletarian educational revolution will surely entail a more acute struggle on a wider scale. The vast masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals warmly welcome this valuable experience. A handful of class enemies are doubtless extremely hostile to this socialist new thing and will jump out to rabidly attack and oppose it. Some within our ranks who are more deeply influenced by the idea of bourgeois right also attack it in various ways; in particular, a few of them who still want to take college education as a ladder to climb up, lend themselves easily to provocation by the class enemies and become their parrots. The various "excuses" for opposing reform also "often appear extremely just and noble," but those who air their disapproval are mostly people who are worried that doing the things Chaoyang Agricultural College has done may restrict bourgeois right and "harm them." Therefore, the process of studying Chaoyang Agricultural College's experience cannot but be a process of heated struggle between the two classes, two lines and two ways of thinking. It is impossible to consummate the educational revolution without struggle.

Chairman Mao has directed that the first secretaries of Party committees at the three levels--provincial, prefectural and hsien--should take charge of education. To do otherwise will not be tolerated. To take good care of education, a Party committee must first of all study well by itself, master the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Chairman Mao's instructions on the educational revolution, go deep into the world of reality to make investigation and study, sum up experience, and solve in a practical way problems of line and policy appearing on the educational front so as to have all trades and professions show concern for and participate in the educational revolution. We must turn the school into a tool for the dictatorship of the proletariat and bring up still more successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause capable of waging the fight to reduce the three major differences and restrict bourgeois right.

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An Engineering College Should Serve Industrial Production

- Investigation report on Shantung Engineering College

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, May 1, 1975)

For the sake of implementing the policy "Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor," Shantung Engineering College has, in the course of the educational revolution, oriented itself to local industrial production and placed the main emphasis on serving medium and small industries as an important way of running school with open doors. In recent years, initial successes have been gained in this connection.

In order to serve industrial production, a local engineering college must ask itself whether it should serve medium and small industries. On this question, the Party Committee of Shantung Engineering College has gone through a process of understanding.

Way back to the teaching reform in 1958, the college had entertained the thought of serving local industry. However, interference and sabotage by the revisionist educational line prevented this from being realized. Thanks to the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Party committee of the college learned about the essence and danger of the old education in divorcing itself from proletarian politics, productive labor and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. To change this situation, in 1970, that is before the admission of the first group of worker-peasant-soldier students, they organized the cadres and teachers to conduct a relatively extensive social survey, by means of which they realized that for local engineering colleges to orient themselves to medium and small industries was dictated by the need to develop the national economy. Since the founding of the People's Republic, in particular since the great proletarian cultural revolution, medium and small industries have developed rapidly. In Shantung, medium and small industrial enterprises account for more than 90 percent of the total, and their output value represents 70-80 percent of the province's gross output value. Most of these medium and small factories provide support for agriculture; in particular, many medium and small factories at or below the prefectural and county levels serve agriculture even more directly. From the viewpoint of development, medium and small factories will grow into large ones. They are of vital importance to the development of the entire national economy, including agriculture. An investigation by the heat treatment speciality shows that among the more than 5,000 workers engaged in this field in the province, only slightly more than 700 have received professional training. Besides, some 4,000 workers, though able to carry on general operations, nevertheless lack theoretical knowledge, thus preventing them from raising their standards. Most of these people work in medium and small factories and are in urgent need of training and improvement. The trends of development of medium and small factories and their vital place in the national economy require that local engineering colleges, while opening their doors to large factories, should give more consideration to the needs of medium and small factories.

However, some people look at socialist industrial enterprises from the outdated viewpoint of gradation. They look down upon medium and small industries, describing them as "indigenous and poor" and saying that "opening our doors to medium and small factories is inconsistent with the college's orientation." The Party committee of the engineering college held the view that in talking about orientation, we mean first of all political orientation. Technical work serves politics, and without a firm and correct political orientation, technical work will end up on the wrong track. So long as socialist large, medium and small industries seriously enforce the proletarian line on enterprises, even if they may differ in scale and division of work, they should have no distinctions as between the noble and the mean. If a local engineering college does not show any concern for the large numbers of rapidly developing medium and small factories, it will not be able to serve the socialist economic base properly, let alone following a correct orientation.

In order to gradually meet the growing demands of the entire industry and, in particular, medium and small factories, an engineering college must break away from the framework of old-type colleges so that teaching is freed from the lofty tower and secluded campus. This is an important step to enable the working people to master industrial techniques and turn into intellectuals sooner.

Holding short-term training classes in which lessons are given in a variety of forms in light of problems that must be urgently solved in medium and small factories, and which require less time but yield fast results, is a good way of raising the level of industrial technology with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Since 1971, Shantung Engineering College has held 154 short-term training classes of all types to serve local industrial and agricultural production. In only three years, it trained some 11,220 students, a number greater than the total number of students who graduated from this College in more than a decade before the great proletarian cultural revolution. The short-term class on machinery drawing recruited 103 students from some small factories in Tsinan, and after 1½ months of study, most of them returned to their factories to take charge of drawing, and some have now become technical backbone elements. The short-term class on line-cutting machines controlled by digital process had more than 20 students from four prefectures and cities including Tsinan, Tzupo, Techou and Hotse. While studying theories, they undertook trial manufacture. After a little more than half a year, they not only mastered the process-control technical theory but also successfully trial-manufactured five such machines which they later brought back to their areas as samples for popularization.

At the beginning, a short-term training class was held according to the needs of a certain unit. Despite the fact that short-term training classes developed like snow-balls, medium and small factories as well as people's communes still felt that "their thirst has not been quenched." What was to be done? The college Party committee took the initiative to consult the relevant industrial departments in the province and prefectures. With their support, it set up various types of short-term training classes

in various areas of the province according to plan, with the college supplying teachers and teaching materials to help train technical teaching staff in prefectures and counties, so that through the latter schools might be run at the basic level. In recent years, short-term training classes in heat treatment and power system automation have been held separately in nine prefectures and cities. Short-term training classes on internal combustion engine have also been held in some prefectures and counties. Judging by the present rate, these several specialities may train a group of technical backbone elements that need urgently to be trained according to prefectures and counties within the next few years. Besides, they have also actively assisted factories to set up "July 21" workers colleges and prefectures and counties to set up "May 7" colleges. Moreover, they have taken in more than 80 students from factories in 10 prefectures and cities to be trained into teachers of mathematics, mechanics, drawing and basic machinery design for factory-run colleges. This will help gradually set up a technical education network across the province.

Most of the specialities taught in ordinary classes are freed from the past tendency to seek only "what is big, modern and complete." Suitable changes have been made in respect to planning, curriculum, teaching material, and methods of teaching. On entering the college, a student in his first and second years will spend half his time learning industry, agriculture and military affairs and learning on the spot directly at the front of the three major revolutionary movements. In the third year, he will spend two-third of his time working in medium and small factories and going through comprehensive practical training prior to graduation. Both the curriculum and the content of teaching are also related to the actual needs of local industrial and agricultural production and the demands of medium and small factories. In the past, the content of teaching for the steam turbine boiler speciality was keyed only to the needs of big power plants, with little consideration given to the great demand for boilers by medium and small factories. In due course, the teachers and students of this speciality became aware of the condition of production of industrial boilers and the demand for them. So, immediately they revised their original teaching plan and added more to the subject of industrial boilers. Organizing teaching in relation to typical tasks is an important way to reform teaching of regular classes. When the casting speciality discovered that Tanfang Generators Plant was in urgent need of a highly efficient sand-mixing machine, it took the design of this sand-mixing machine as a typical task, not only helping the plant to solve its production problems but also more satisfactorily fulfilling its own theoretical teaching task. At present, Shantung Engineering College has hooked up with more than 70 factories and expanded its teaching bases outside the campus. The relations between the college and these factories, which look upon the educational revolution as their own business, have been rendered ever closer. In the whole of last year, most teachers and students of the College had separately gone to factories with which they have hooked up as well as other medium and small factories to participate in industrial designing and trial-manufacture of some 300 items. Through these initial reforms, the college Party committee realized that: Only by combining the various links of teaching organically with the three great revolutionary movements will it be possible to enable students to free themselves from the fetters of metaphysics and scholastic philosophy and carry out lively and vigorous study during their stay in the college. Only in this way would the energetic children of the workers and peasants not be turned into bookworms.

However, some people who are nostalgic about the "regular" old-type college do not approve of this, saying that a college aims at "raising standards" and that if it is run in such a way, it will not be "regular" and doesn't look like a college at all. For a time these views had misled certain people. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, both teachers and students criticized the reactionary program of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" as advocated by Lin Piao and Confucius. In light of reality, they analyzed and criticized these ideas and other conservative notions, thereby enabling more people to strengthen their confidence in reforming the old-type college. Both teachers and students realized that different classes had different criteria for what was regular and what was not. The bourgeoisie holds that running schools with doors closed is "most regular." But the proletariat must smash such "regular" education aimed at training students into slaves for the bourgeoisie. In the 17 years before the great cultural revolution, the former engineering college was quite concerned about "regular" and most emphatic on "raising standards." But its students lacked the thinking and feelings of the working class and had few practical skills. After acquiring a bit of book knowledge, they considered themselves way above others, despised productive labor, and wanted only to become engineers. One of the important reasons for this was that the college followed the revisionist line in education--"intellectual education first" and "technology in command." It ignored the practice of the three great revolutionary movements but "raised standards" behind closed doors. It departed from the proletarian political orientation and followed the bourgeois path. This was a most profound lesson. Our engineering college must indeed "raise standards," and unceasingly. However, this does not mean locking up and raising students to the bourgeois standard; instead, it means bringing up the worker-peasant-soldier students to be "laborers with socialist consciousness and culture" along the proletarian path. By turning to medium and small factories for the popularization of science and technology, we shall have a solid basis for raising our standards.

In medium and small factories there are many complicated technical problems which have to be solved through special scientific research. Placing the main emphasis on serving medium and small factories makes it possible not only to improve the quality of teaching but also to raise the level of scientific research. In a word, standards can be raised. By conscientiously studying a series of Chairman Mao's important instructions on scientific research work and by selecting certain research topics from certain crucial problems brought up in industrial production in Shantung, teachers and students of this college, combining their efforts with those of workers, have achieved some technical breakthroughs. For example, ultra-high voltage transmission circuit semi-conductors, following complete sets of power safety installation and 1.5-kilowatt light power generating sets, have been used and popularized in some areas. Produced through cooperation by the college and factories, such items as high heat-resistant aluminium alloy, close-teeth milling cutters, precision forged flaring gears and semi-closed circuit 250-watt tractor generators have already been applied in production. For the past years, some 60 percent of the scientific research projects undertaken by this college were in direct service of medium and small industries and agriculture. Most of these projects fitted into the production patterns and technical transformation of medium and small factories,

and also fitted into the specialities of the college. This not only has enabled some medium and small factories to be equipped with advanced techniques, but also effectively promoted the improvement of the teaching quality of specialities.

Taking class struggle as the main theme, the Party committee of Shantung Engineering College has paid much attention to overcoming erroneous tendencies to proceed only from the needs of specialities to the neglect of politics. Apart from organizing teachers and students to take part in class struggle in society on the basis of given political tasks, it has given special attention to directing teachers and students to join the worker masses in productive labor and in criticizing the bourgeoisie, so that they may keep on deepening their understanding of the Party's basic line amid actual class and line struggles and raise their awareness of the need to transform their world outlook and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Many medium and small factories, relying on their own efforts in arduous struggle, have displayed the spirit--"poverty gives rise to the desire for change, for action and for revolution," in sharp contrast to the revisionist slavish comprador philosophy and doctrine of crawling behind at a snail's pace. This revolutionary spirit has greatly educated and encouraged the teachers and students and further aroused their enthusiasm in teaching and learning for the sake of the revolution.

In August 1974, the first group of more than 650 worker-peasant-soldier students graduated from the college. Most of them were assigned to medium and small factories. According to many factories, these graduates are remarkably different from those of old-type colleges. Politically and ideologically, many of them have a higher level of awareness of class and line struggles and dare to struggle against revisionism and capitalism. They have fewer bourgeois concepts about gradation and preserve more ideas and feelings of the working people. They do not feel that because they have been through college, they are way above others; they are willing to return to the basic level, to the working people. Less conservative in thinking, they dare to practice and create something new. They have the determination and the zeal to change the features of local industries. After returning to his factory after graduation, a worker student of the machine tool manufacturing speciality has diligently studied the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the writings of Chairman Mao, often gives up his leisure hours to do more work, but has never been concerned about pay. When the factory wanted to make him a cadre detached from labor, he insisted on remaining a worker. Other workers have praised him for preserving the features of the working people in spite of three years in college. Vocationally speaking, this group of students can talk and act, having a definite ability to analyze and solve problems by linking theory with practice. 81 worker-peasant-soldier students of the generator manufacturing speciality took part in an important project of designing a generator in their second year. Under the guidance of both workers and teachers, they battled bravely for more than 20 days, each producing one to three draft proposals. After extensive examination and discussion by departments concerned, a number of these proposals were selected for trial manufacture. As a result, this task was fulfilled brilliantly. This was something the old college could never hope to do.

"The problem of teaching reform is mainly a problem of teachers." In the past, many teachers of this college attached importance only to books and slighted practical experiences, keeping themselves at arms length from workers and peasants. In the early period of running the school with open doors, there was rather serious ideological resistance. In accordance with Chairman Mao's policy on uniting, educating and transforming intellectuals, the college Party committee intensified ideological and political work among the teachers, actively guiding them to study Marxism and socialism seriously, to receive re-education from the workers, and to take up fresh study professionally. Their spiritual features changed deeply. In the past, the deputy director of a teaching research office found research topics only from books and wanted only to become a specialist. When the college began to open its doors, he had the opportunity to come into extensive contact with the workers and peasants, stepped up his ideological reform, and established the thought of serving the three great revolutionary movements. For the past three years, he has taken part in short-term training classes and toured many areas of the province. When some medium and small factories asked him to help solve technical problems, he never refused to do so, but enthusiastically joined the workers in work. In addition, through teaching in various forms, teachers have initially reversed the situation in which theory is separated from practice, and begun to establish the concept of primacy of practice. They have increased their perceptual knowledge and improved their theoretical level and teaching ability. Running the school with open doors has also promoted a change in the composition of the teacher ranks. For all teaching activities conducted at the frontline of the three great revolutionary movements, a certain number of workers have been engaged as teachers. At the same time, a number of workers have also been engaged to teach in the college on a full-time basis. For the past years, the college has engaged 238 full-time and part-time teachers from factories with which it has hooked up. This is of great significance in remolding the college in the working-class image and putting an end to the domination of the college by bourgeois intellectuals.

Both the Party committee and revolutionary teachers and students of Shantung Engineering College are determined to follow the example of Chaoyang Agricultural College, advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian line in education, and turn the college into a tool for the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that it may better satisfy the demands of socialist economic development and fight for the grand goal of "realizing overall modernization in agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology before the end of this century"!

Investigation Team of the Education Bureau of
Shantung Provincial Revolutionary Committee

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Continue to Reform College Education

- An investigation report on Peking Municipality

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, May 1, 1975)

While studying Chaoyang Agricultural College's experience in educational revolution, we went to a number of factories and mines, rural people's communes and neighborhoods in Peking to conduct an investigation into problems of reforming college education. At present, college education is undergoing a deep-going socialist revolution, and preliminary results have been achieved. The excellent situation prevailing since the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has created favorable conditions for the continued development of the educational revolution, and at the same time set higher demands. We must continue to develop the educational revolution more deeply under the guidance of the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this respect, suggestions from the worker and peasant masses greatly enlightened us.

College Students Come from and Should Return to the Workers and Peasants

Over the past few years, colleges have been carrying out Chairman Mao's "July 21" directive. As a result, revolutionary changes have occurred in the student enrollment and allocation systems. Selecting students from among workers, peasants and soldiers with practical experience and further strengthening the proletarian forces on the educational front are of great significance in fostering a massive army of working-class intellectuals and in realizing and consolidating all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure. The worker and peasant masses say: "Before, the revisionist educational line kept us from colleges. Now, we have become the masters of colleges. The reversed history has been set right again. This is a great victory for the great proletariat cultural revolution."

But, in light of the need to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, is it still necessary to further reform the system of enrollment and allocation in colleges? If we hear the opinions of workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, we will get an affirmative answer to this question. At present, some units have three fears about selecting and sending students to colleges: One, they may not come back; two, there may not be suitable jobs for them when they come back; and three, they may change their thinking. At present, most college graduates who came from rural areas would not return to the rural areas, and there are also few worker students who go back to their factories. The workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants say: "We have not only the duty to supply colleges with students but also the right to employ them when they graduate. We must not let them go one by one." They strongly favor the method adopted by Chaoyang Agricultural College to select students from among workers and peasants and let them go back to production.

Whether college graduates will return to their factories or farms is a question of whether bourgeois right should be restricted. The worker

and peasant masses indicate: "If we turn the allocation system into a formula 'college graduates--cadres', that is, to turn them all into cadres after three years of college education, then, with more and more people going to college in the future, who will take his place as worker or peasant? This is detrimental to the reduction of the three major differences, and it is bound to extend bourgeois right." As Engels pointed out: "In a society of private producers, expenses for training cultured laborers are borne by private individuals or their families. Therefore, cultured labor with a relatively high price primarily belongs to the private individual." "In a society organized on socialist principles, such expenses are borne by society. Therefore, fruit created by complex labor, namely, the larger value, goes to society." ("Anti-Duhring") Today, our college students are supported by the people. They go to college in order to acquire the skills to serve the people, and not to acquire "assets" to bargain with the people. Of course, college graduates may become cadres if they are required by the Party and the people to do so, but otherwise, they should become workers and peasants too. With the development of the socialist society, more and more college graduates will become workers and peasants. Many worker-peasant-soldier students have expressed their resolution to completely break away from old traditional concepts. Some worker students say: "When we criticize 'one who excels in study becomes an official', we should act accordingly. We do not go to college for gaining fame or wealth. We come here as workers, and we shall return as workers after we graduate and draw the same salary and hold the same position. We must contribute more to socialism." In regard to enrollment and allocation, we must further implement Chairman Mao's "July 21" directive, destroy the "ladder" leading to "officialdom" and clear away the soil that breeds revisionism in the field of education. Since 1973, Hsuchiawu brigade in Pingku hsien has sent some young people to college, and they will return to the brigade after graduation. The poor and lower-middle peasants warmly welcome this method.

Reform Specialities According to the Needs of the Three Great Revolutionary Movements

Specialities set up in former colleges met the needs of bringing up spiritual aristocrats. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, colleges have made certain achievements in reforming old specialities. The direction and substance of some specialities have changed greatly, and they are playing a positive role in socialist revolution and construction. But we should see that the task of reforming specialities is an arduous one. As the worker-peasant masses point out, in order to further serve the three great revolutionary movements and to help consolidate and develop the socialist economic base, college education must break with conservative ideas and practices and proceed from the needs of the three great revolutionary movements. On the basis of investigation and study, we must continue to add to, reduce, merge and reform the existing specialities.

For instance, the general policy of developing our national economy is to "take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor." College education must therefore give priority to serving the rural

three great revolutionary movements. At present, of the more than 300 specialities set up in colleges throughout the municipality, there are relatively few directly serving agricuture. Though some specialities are closely related to agriculture, for a long time they have been known as specialities of "science and engineering," not of "agriculture." A great number of agricultural scientists and technicians are needed in Peking suburbs where scientific farming is extensively practiced and where scientific and technical networks have been generally established at county, commune, brigade and production team levels. The related specialities should attach major importance to these problems. The number of specialities serving agriculture should be appropriately increased. Colleges of science and engineering should not only be oriented to industry but also positively serve agriculture. Tsinghua University has established rural branch schools with such courses as rural electricity, agricultural machinery, irrigation, agricultural construction and agricultural chemistry, and this is welcomed by the vast masses of poor and lower-middle peasants.

Rapid development has been made in the medium and small-sized industries in the urban areas as well as in the rural "five small" industries, for another example. But most of the specialities set up in science and engineering colleges are oriented to large factories, big engineering projects and design research units. When graduates are allocated to medium and small enterprises they can but ill adapt themselves to work there. A college graduate majoring in chemistry, after he was assigned to a county-operated chemical fertilizer plant, said: "What we learned in school are big and modern things, and we cannot use them here." The policy of promoting large, medium and small industries simultaneously and the policy of "walking on two legs" are a correct guiding principle for industrial development in our country, a principle that must be followed by colleges in setting up specialities. They must take care not only of the needs of large enterprises but also those of medium and small industries, attending to both aspects--popularization and elevation of standards.

The worker and peasant masses also point out that the setting up of specialities should give consideration not only to the urgent needs of the three great revolutionary movements but also to the needs of long-range development. The current development of industrial and agricultural production and of the mass technical reform movement calls for more technicians trained in the fields of mechanization and automation. Such general specialities should be appropriately increased and expanded. Some new specialities should be added in a planned way to meet the needs of production and scientific and technological developments. Besides, for certain specialities the division of work is too minute and narrow in scope. For instance, those who study technological processes do not know how to handle a machine. The workers compare them with people who "know only how to ride a horse but do not know how to feed a horse." For some literary specialities as well, the problem of excessively limited range of knowledge exists. To meet the needs of the three great revolutionary movements, people who are specialized in one thing and capable of doing other things should be trained. The scope of some specialities should be widened appropriately, and those that are closely related with each other or similar in nature should be merged.

Run Schools with Open Doors, Let School Education Take Deeper Root in Society

One of the important ways of reforming college education is to run schools with open doors in accordance with Chairman Mao's "May 7" directive. Impelled by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, in 1974 the various colleges and universities in Peking sent on different occasions a total of more than 65,000 students to factories, rural areas and army units to study industry, agriculture and military science. Tremendous achievements were made in running schools with open doors. Taking the workers, peasants and soldiers as teachers and the three great revolutionary movements as classrooms, the students have gained in ability to analyze and solve problems. Experiences of many schools show that in order to more properly run schools with open doors, we must have relatively fixed teaching bases outside the school and integrate the educational revolution with the three great revolutionary movements. This will enable schools to enlist the support of factories or communes and brigades where the teaching bases are located in jointly carrying out the educational revolution well. Moreover, they may rely on the workers, peasants and soldiers in training their students and reforming their teachers. However, for some specialities no permanent links have been set up. Even after they have visited several dozen units, they have not been able to find a "coordination point," and when they find one, they concern themselves solely with production and technology, "participatig in only half of each of the three great revolutionary movements" and completely ignoring other things. This is not the proper way of running schools with open doors. A successful example is the forging speciality jointly set up by the Peking Industrial College and the Peking Forged Machine Tools Plant. They incorporated teaching, production and scientific research into the factory's plans, enrolled students from among its workers and those of other factories, and set up a three-in-one teaching group composed of workers, teachers and students. Teaching work is organized in conjunction with class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific exerpiment in the plant. Workers with practical experiences are engaged as teachers, while teachers from the college also play the role as technicians. The students, adopting the method of "fixing their groups and master workers," frequently go to the workshops to take part in production, reporting on their thoughts and soliciting opinions. They have teachers everywhere and can learn everywhere. Everywhere they have workers to guide them. The educational revolution has yielded good results.

Priority Must Still Be Given to Changing Students' Thinking

Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory has shown us the way to carry on the educational revolution. The workers and poor and lower-middle peasants say: "Having studied Chairman Mao's instruction and reflecting on the situation of the educational revolution, the question that concerns us the most is: What kind of man are we training our worker-peasant-soldier students into?" As a tool for the dictatorship

of the proletariat, socialist colleges should foster revolutionary combatants for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They must firmly bear in mind the Party's basic line and persist in the socialist direction; they must not only firmly fight against the class enemies and capitalist tendencies, but also reform their own world outlook. They must free themselves from the narrow views of bourgeois right and be brave in becoming new-type workers and peasants who are both Red and expert. Since classes and class struggle still exist in the socialist historical period and since in our colleges the influence of bourgeois ideology is still deeply entrenched, if we relax ideological work among students, they will not be able to undertake the important task of restricting bourgeois right and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat by their practical action. Some may even be captured by the bourgeoisie. Schools must still place changing the student's thinking above everything else, and continue to criticize such reactionary views as "intellectual education first" and "vocational work in command."

Through investigations, we have come to recognize that the struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the educational front is extremely acute and complicated. This struggle is manifested in school as well as in society. In schools the influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius is still very deep and the bourgeoisie still has considerable strength. Revisionism is still the main danger at present. Is the school a tool for the dictatorship of the proletariat or "simply a place for imparting knowledge"? Should it bring up revolutionary fighters to fight for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat or train men to "excel in study and become officials"? These fundamental questions have not been really settled among some of our educational workers, masses and cadres. The great significance of the educational revolution and the gravity of the struggle on our educational front must arouse the serious attention of the whole Party. The school Party organization is the headquarters of the proletariat in its struggle to impose dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the realm of education, and it must seriously study Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, persist in the Party's basic line, firmly grasp the two-class and two-line struggle in education, foster and develop socialist new things, wholeheartedly rely on the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, unite with all those forces that can be united with, and organize a mighty army for the proletarian educational revolution so as to transform our colleges and universities into tools for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Investigation Team on the Educational
Revolution, CCP Peking Municipal Committee

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The History of Mankind in Knowing and Using Energy

by

Ch'in Hua (秦 华)

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Energy is the general term of natural energy resources used by mankind. In the continuing struggle to conquer nature and change society, man has gradually deepened and expanded his knowledge and use of energy. As the use of natural energy continues to develop, man's material strength in changing the world grows. Hence, the history of development of energy has always been closely related to the history of development of human society.

In class society, man's knowledge and utilization of natural power are always controlled by definite class relations. For this reason, since the dissolution of the primitive commune, class struggle and the struggle between two kinds of world outlook have persisted regarding man's knowledge and utilization of energy. The struggle around the energy problem in the contemporary era is not only the continuation of this struggle in history, but has reached a more acute degree.

In order to plunder and monopolize the world's energy resources, the two superpowers have exerted themselves to propagate the idealist conception of history on the energy issue. The Soviet revisionists claim that energy supply is the decisive factor for the development of society's material basis, raising a hue and cry that the appearance of nuclear weapons has changed the nature of the time in a vain attempt to use such absurdities to oppose Marxism and the revolution. The capitalist world is currently faced with the most serious economic crisis since the War. The two superpowers, with a view to covering up the crisis of the imperialist system itself, have spread everywhere such fallacies as depletion of world energy. Therefore, for us to use the Marxist viewpoint to make a serious study of the history of energy development and to correctly elucidate the course taken by man in knowing and using energy will be of vital significance in deepening the criticism of the fallacies spread by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists on the energy issue and in seeing clearly the essence of the struggle now going on on this question.

(1) The Struggle Between Two Kinds of World Outlook on the Question of Knowing and Using Energy

It has been several hundred thousand years since man embarked on the road to knowing and using energy. Man's learning to use fire and his subsequent mastering the method of obtaining fire through friction marked the beginning of his use of natural energy. The discovery of fire by friction made it possible for natural fuel to serve mankind in the form of heat energy through the combustion of its chemical energy. Engels highly

appraised the production of fire by friction, the first great creation in the history of energy development. He pointed out: "It was only after man learned to produce fire by friction that he for the first time forced a certain lifeless force of nature to serve him." "For the generation of fire by friction gave man for the first time control over one of the forces of nature."

In ancient times, the low level of social productive forces prevented man from finding rational interpretation to the use of natural force and the disasters it caused (such as fires, windstorms and floods). The reactionary ruling classes, in order to fool the people and consolidate their reactionary rule, did the best they could to mystify natural force, describing it as the force of different gods, such as the god of wind, the god of fire, the god of thunder, the god of river, etc. Hence, the struggle between materialism and idealism around the question of knowing and using energy centered first of all on the following question: Should we regard natural energy as natural force that man could know and use or as a certain divine force?

In our country, the Confucianists, who represented the interests of the reactionary ruling classes, regarded fire--a phenomenon of the release of natural energy--as the force of god. They worshipped the "god of fire" as the "god of propriety" guarding the reactionary rule. They said, "The god of wood upholds benevolence, the god of metal righteousness, the god of fire propriety, the god of water honesty, and the god of earth wisdom." ("The Doctrine of the Mean"--Annotation by Cheng Hsüeh). They described fires as punishment meted out by "god" to man for his violation of "propriety." Such an idealist interpretation of fire by the Confucianists not only served their political line of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," but also became an obstacle to knowing and using energy as they attempted to prevent people from studying fire as a natural phenonenon.

The laboring people in ancient China, in their prolonged practice of generation and using fire, gradually acquired simple materialist knowledge of fire. For instance, in the production practice of generating fire by friction and using fire to melt metals, people arrived at the conclusion that "fire can be obtained by boring into flint" ("The Five Vermin, Han Fei Tzu") and that "fire fuses metal" ("On Classics Part II, Mo Tzu"). They began to realize that fire was no favor bestowed by god but a kind of natural force that could be obtained and used by man through labor. The early simple materialist theory of "Five Elements," namely, the theory of treating metal, wood, water, fire and earth as five material elements constituting the external world, also held that fire was a kind of objective matter that could be known, and not a divine force. The materialist thinker of the Han dynasty, Wang Ch'ung, on the basis of summing up the practice of the laboring people in the use of fire, further advanced a materialist explanation of fire and, under existing conditions speculated in a more rational way on the essence of solar energy. He pointed out: "The sun represents the fire of Heaven, which is scarcely different from that of the earth." ("The Sun, Lun Heng") Besides, he made a preliminary description of the law of conductivity of heat energy.

When fuel was used as energy for the first time, it was confined to cooking, getting warmth, and driving away wild beasts. Fuel still

could not be used directly as kinetic energy for social production. Following the development of social production, such kinetic energy sources as animal power, water power and wind power that could be used directly with convenience began to be applied to production. From observation of large quantities of mechanical motion and production practice, people arrived at the preliminary idea that energy was the work of objects. In 1695, the proposition put forward by Leibniz and others that multiplication of powers of a magnitude was equivalent to a gain of vital force was such an initial concept about energy. Study of the natural mechanical energy and the law of mechanical motion began to reveal the nature of natural mechanical energy, explaining preliminarily why natural mechanical energy could serve mankind in his struggle for production. This was a heavy blow to the idealist theory of mysterious natural force, and was a giant step in the history of energy development. However, during this period people still had an inadequate understanding of other forms of motion of matter than mechanical motion, and in the field of natural science only mechanics and mathematics reached a relatively high level. For this reason, some people attempted to explain everything with the law of mechanics, interpreting the various qualitatively different processes and phenomena in the natural world with mechanical reasons, and in so doing they had taken the road of metaphysics.

In this way, the struggle between two kinds of world outlook on the question of energy, on the heels of the heavy blow dealt to the fallacies of mysterious natural force, was mainly manifested as a struggle between dialectics and metaphysical mechanism. Such a metaphysical viewpoint, on the one hand, interpreted with "force" the state of various qualitatively different motions of matter, regarding natural energy as an inexplicable so-called force and thus actually "finding 'force' as a sanctuary." On the other hand, it regarded the various unknown natural phenomena as the functions of certain peculiar and mysterious substances, namely, the various kinds of elements such as phlogiston, caloric and effluvium. The theory of phlogiston looked upon conductivity of heat as a kind of transference of phlogiston, and equated the conduction of heat from high-temperature objects to low-temperature objects with the mechanical motion of flow of water from a high to a low ground. The theory of phlogiston interpreted the release of chemical energy through the burning of fuel as a kind of transference of phlogiston. "This theory, though far-fetched in many respects, was sufficient to explain most of the chemical phenomena known by people at the time." That was why it had played a positive role at that time. However, such metaphysical mechanism regarded the various forms of energy inherent in natural energy sources as the existence and transference of "elements," and "in these theories the real relation is stood on its head." Hence, with the development of human society its positive role also vanished, and it became more and more an obstacle standing in the way for man to know and utilize energy sources.

It still left to the social practice of the laboring masses to smash these metaphysical obstacles and continue to pave the way for the utilization of energy. The development of social production was such that the demand for power could no longer be satisfied merely by relying on energy

resources that had been known and utilized by man. The development of industrial production strongly called for the supply of energy not subjected to regional or seasonal restrictions. At that time, although coal was already in use, such as for refining and making of pottery, it had not yet become the kinetic energy for social production. It was after the steam engine was put to use and the transformation of heat energy of fuel into mechanical energy was accomplished that social production entered the period when fuel was used as kinetic energy. This not only made coal, fossil oil, and natural gas kinetic energy for social production but also opened up a broad path for the exploitation of energy resources. Moreover, a giant step was taken in smashing the metaphysical bondage in respect to knowing energy.

Steam power realized the process of transformation of chemical energy of fuel into heat energy and then to mechanical energy, and became the main form of utilization of energy. This gave a great impetus to the study of the law of transformation of energy, considerably spurring the research into the substance of heat and the phenomenon of combustion. People gradually recognized that the phenomenon of heat was not what was known as the existence and transference of "phlogiston," but a state of molecular motion of matter. Nor was the phenomenon of combustion what was known as the transference of "phlogiston," but the release of chemical energy from natural energy substance in the course of oxidation. The establishment of this "theory of heat as motion" and "theory of oxidation of combustion" set right the mechanical theory that had been stood on its head. And till the discovery of heat power as quantity people gradually worked out the laws of transformation and conservation of energy, which were of major historical significance. It was then that metaphysical mechanism on the essence of energy and knowledge of energy was further broken. Engels highly appraised the tremendous significance of the discovery of the law of transformation of energy, calling it one of the "three great discoveries" of "decisive importance" in 19th century natural science. It showed: "All the innumerable acting causes in nature, which had hitherto led a mysterious, inexplicable existence as so-called forces--mechanical force, heat, radiation (light and radiant heat), electricity, magnetism, chemical force of association and dissociation--have now been proved to be special forms, modes of existence of one and the same energy, i.e., motion." "The unity of all motion in nature is no longer a philosophical assertion, but a natural scientific fact."

The discovery of the law of transformation of energy was a major event on the road for man to know and utilize energy. It dealt a fatal blow to the idealist and metaphysical viewpoints in the history of energy development. The immense importance of the law of transformation of energy to energy utilization was confirmed not only by steam power through the transformation of heat energy into mechanical energy but also by many subsequent important discoveries in the history of energy development. The application of electric energy gave vivid expression to the great effect of the law of transformation of energy on man's use of energy resources. It created favorable conditions for man's large-scale and widespread use of natural energy resources. Following the large-scale development of production and the daily growing popularization of mechanization of industrial production, the demand arose for power which could be easily

transmitted and supplied to scattered places. On the other hand, there was a growing demand for power supply. But the above demands could no longer be satisfied by the supply of energy from steam engines through the transformation of heat energy of fuel into mechanical energy. The handy transmission of electric energy and the transformation of other forms of energy facilitated both concentrated supply of power and scattered application. As a result, vigorously impelled by social production, the science and technology in electric energy developed rapidly.

The discovery of the law of transformation of energy did not, however, put an end to the struggle between two kinds of world outlook on the question of knowing and using energy. Although man's knowledge of the state of motion of matter, namely energy, had already advanced from general mechanical motion to molecular and atomic motion, yet he still had not delved into the state of motion within the atom and the atomic nucleus. So, following continuous deepening of man's knowledge of energy, the struggle between two kinds of world outlook on the question of knowing and using energy also continued to deepen. In modern times, this struggle was shown in the main as a struggle between materialism and idealism.

The discovery and application of nuclear energy was another discovery of tremendous importance following generation fire by friction, the steam engine and the application of electric energy in the history of energy development. It opened up a vast new territory for man's utilization of natural energy. Every progressive step taken in the development of nuclear energy was also a victory for materialism over idealism.
From the late 19th century to the early 20th century, modern physicists had made a series of important discoveries in respect to the state of motion of matter within the atom. Thereupon, some people took the opportunity to attack such basic principles of materialism as "matter does not vanish" and "motion does not cease." The German physicist Ostwald put forward the energeticist theory, holding that energy was the basis for all forms of existence and regarding it "as a great gain in the simple and natural removal of the old difficulties in the way of uniting the concepts matter and spirit by subordinating both to the concept energy." He attempted to use this to write off at one stroke the basic questions of philosophical struggle, namely, questions of the relationship between thinking and being. The reactionary energeticist theory was right at that time roundly criticized by Lenin. Lenin pointed out: "The energeticist physics is the source of new idealist attempts at conceiving that there is no motion of matter." "Ostwald endeavored to avoid this inevitable philosophical alternative (materialism or idealism) by an indefinite use of the word 'energy,' but this every endeavor only once again goes to prove the futility of such artifices."

However, the struggle between materialism and idealism did not stop. In 1938, when people, using neutrons to strike at the heavy element uranium, discovered that huge quantities of energy could be released by nuclear fission, the utilization of nuclear energy became an immediate possibility. Following the explosion of the first atom bomb, the energeticist theory was brought forth noisely once more. The bourgeois scholars said nonsensically that the explosion of the atom bomb "for the first time caused a large quantity of matter to transform into what we call motion of heat and sound of energy," and shouted such things as that

this was "the end of the materialist century." They metaphysically regarded the properties of matter as absolute and immutable things, and hence they interpreted the change in the properties of matter in the course of releasing energy as the disappearance of matter, etc. By so doing, they fell into the idealist mire. But it was precisely here that Marxists saw that all this had only once again verified dialectical materialism. As Lenin stated long ago: "'Matter is disappearing' means that the limit within which we have hitherto known matter is vanishing and that our knowledge is penetrating deeper; properties of matter are likewise disappearing which formerly seemed absolute, immutable, and primary (impenetrability, inertia, mass, etc.) and which are now revealed to be relative and characteristic only of certain states of matter. For the sole 'property' of matter with whose recognition philosophical materialism is bound up is the property of being an objective reality, of existing outside our mind."

On the use of natural energy, man has generally gone through the stages from generating fire by friction and the use of heat energy of fuel to the use of mechanical energy in nature, then to the transformation of heat energy of fuel into mechanical and electric energy and all the way to the use of nuclear energy in modern times. Each stage of development was invariably accompanied by the struggle between two antagonistic world outlooks. The idealist and metaphysical world outlook was exemplified by the mystification of the natural force, the mechanical theory and the energeticist theory at various stages of man's knowing and using energy. At the present time, the two superpowers are still propagating the reactionary idealist theory in their efforts to plunder and monopolize the world's energy resources. The Soviet revisionists raise a hue and cry that "what is of decisive importance to the development of society's material basis and the betternment of people's livelihood is the supply of energy." The other superpower says that "without nuclear energy, human civilization will head toward its doomsday." These are new energeticist theories peddled in the field of social science. If it is said that the energeticist theory which appeared in the early 20th century directed its attack mainly at Marxism philosophically, then, today's energeticist theory is nakedly opposed to the people's revolution and obliterates the colossal role of the social system in the development of production and the utilization of energy. However, the history of development of energy resources shows, above all, that whether the social system is advanced or backward will exert tremendous effects on promoting or restricting man's effort to know and use energy.

(2) The Colossal Role of a Social System in Knowing and Using Energy

Class struggle and the change of the social system in human society profoundly influence the utilization of energy. To carefully examine this influence is an important aspect of studying the history of energy development.

It is always under a given form of production that people use natural energy resources to carry out social production. The contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and that between the superstructure and the economic base will certainly be reflected in an impressive manner in the history of energy development. The relations of production are determined by the nature of the productive forces and will, in turn, react tremendously on the latter. This is a basic law,

which is equally shown with clarity in the history of energy development. Usually, every major development of man's effort to know and use energy resources occurred after a big social upheaval and under an advanced social system, whereas the decadent relations of production prevented and hindered the discovery and utilization of energy resources.

The supersession of the slave society by the feudal society in our country took place in the period between the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period. In the several centuries from the Warring States and Ch'in to Western Han, the newly engendered feudal system played a remarkably prominent role in enhancing the productive forces. Social upheavals caused tremendous development in the utilization of energy resources in our country in that period. It may be said that owing to the effects of the tremendous development in that period, our country was in the forefront of the world in the various respects of energy utilization up till the appearance of capitalist production in the West.

In the slave society, almost all power sources for production came from the physical power of slaves, animal power not having been extensively used yet in production. For this reason, the disruptive effects of the decadent relations of production on the productive forces were manifested in a concentrated way in the huge disruption of slave labor.
During the reign of King Hsüan of Chou, exodus of slaves brought about a major crisis of labor power. Although the movement of slaves was strictly controlled by carrying out household checks, it was still impossible to prevent land from lying idle and untended, with the slave-owners lamenting that "weeds grow in the fields and no crops are harvested." In spite of the fact that animal power had begun to be used, the reactionary slave-owners vigorously opposed the application of animal power in social production, particularly the use of draft cattle, contending that "using animals which should be used as sacrificial offerings to ancestral temples to plow the fields" was to make the noble mean in violation of the slave-owners' "propriety." It was not until the feudal system came into being and the newly emerging landlord class practiced the Legalist line by encouraging farming and war that draft battle began to be used on a massive scale. By the time of Han Emperor Wu, the use of draft cattle was further positively encouraged. With cattle used for sowing and planting, animal power was applied to social production on a large scale.

The utilization of water power also developed substantially during the period between Ch'in and Han. This reflected in no small measure the tremendous effects of the social system on the utilization of energy resources. The policy of government monopoly of salt and iron in early Han enhanced the development of the iron refining industry, urgently calling for the huge supply of motive power in the form of wind blowing. The Governor of Nanyang in the Han dynasty, Tu Shih, summed up the experiences of the laboring people in applying water power and invented the "water rafts," namely, the water-power wind blowers. Ts'ao Ts'ao, a Legalist in the final days of Han, actively supported the extension of "water rafts." The development of the wind blowing power greatly raised the temperature of the iron refining furnaces, making it possible for our country to have iron casting long ago. In Europe, the question of iron casting was basically solved only in the middle period of the Middle Ages.

Coal, as an important energy source in modern times, was already discovered during the Warring States period in our country. Fossil oil and natural gas also began to be discovered during the Ch'in-Han periods and conditions were created for their subsequent utilization. Archaeological findings show that use of coal to refine iron began already in the early days of Western Han. In the iron refining relics of Western Han, located in Tiehshengkou, Kung hsien, Honan, coal slabs were unearthed together with processed briquettes. Coal was also discovered in the iron refining relics of early Han in P'ingling, Shantung province. The use of coal began to develop substantially during the Ch'in-Han periods, and toward the end of Han, there were coal shafts eight chang deep. Ts'ao Ts'ao kept "several hundred thousand catties of graphite (coal) in Sant'ai. This shows the extent to which coal mining technology had developed and the scale of output. In Europe, Britain, the first country to use coal, began to extract coal only in the 13th century. In our country, records of "volcanic wells," namely natural gas wells, in Szechwan were already found in "Verses on Capital Shu" during Western Han. In the "Chronicles of Han and Wei" there were records of use of natural gas to prepare salt in huge quantities. But in Europe, Britain, the first country to use natural gas as an energy source, was behind our country by approximately 13 centuries. In our country, fossil oil was discovered and used during the Han dynasty. "Treatise on Geography, History of Han" recorded a kind of combustible "fatty water" in Kaonu hsien (along Yench'ang hsien in present-day Shensi province). "Records of Material Resources" stated that in Yenshou hsien, Chiuch'uan prefecture (along Yümen of present-day Kansu province) "there were mountains south of the hsien. Water came out from the rocks and flowed along ditches. The water was fatty, like juice of cooked meat. It was never frozen and burned brilliantly. It could not be drunk. The people of the hsien called it rock lacquer." This showed that the Yümen oilfield was already discovered at that time. (By the time of Northern Sung, the famous Legalist scientist Shen K'uo in his "Pen Talks by the Dream Brooks" pointed out: "There is fossil oil within the borders of Li and Yen, which people of old days called 'fatty water in Kaonu hsien'." This was the first time the term "fossil oil" was used in our country.)

In short, in the several centuries from the Warring States to Ch'in and Han, major reforms in the relations of production ushered in a period of substantial development in the utilization of energy resources in our history. It produced far-reaching effects on the development of energy utilization not only in China but in the world as well. Among the major inventions introduced into Europe from China, as listed by foreign scholars, those that were related to energy utilization included: gun powder, square-plate chain pumps, rolling-cutter grinders driven by water power, metal-refining bellows, rotating wind fans, piston wind boxes, deep well drilling, and sluice gates, totalling more than ten items.

The substantial development of energy utilization during the Ch'in-Han period illustrated the role of the newly emerging social system and the progressive political line in increasing man's knowledge and utilization of energy resources. The adoption of policies of rewarding farming and war

and government operation of salt and iron industries in the early period of the feudal society, while promoting the extensive use of draft cattle and iron-made farm tools, also accelerated the development of iron refining, coal extraction and other fields of production. The appearance of this period of substantial development was made possible by the newly emerging landlord class having a progressive Legalist line in the course of building and consolidating the feudal system in our country, and playing a role in enhancing the development of the productive forces.

The second period of substantial development of energy utilization in human history took place in 18th century Western European countries. This was mainly due to the major change resulting in the replacement of the feudal by the capitalist system. A bourgeois revolution which took place in England in the 17th century paved the way for the industrial revolution and substantial development of energy utilization in the 18th century. Before this, serious obstacles placed by the English feudal forces had prevented the development of the use of coal. In the 13th century, Edward I, the King of England, once ordered the arrest and punishment by death of anyone who was found burning coal. The French feudal forces also once prohibited the Paris workers from burning coal and severely punished those who ignored this law. In the 16th century, on the eve of the collapse of the feudal system in England, Holland and other countries, there appeared the "energy crisis" characterized by the "timber famine." At that time, timber, besides being used for building ships and making implements, was the principal source of fuel. Timber was used for iron refining, making salt and soap and as firewood. While the demand for fuel was growing, the feudal forces did their utmost to hinder the use of such energy resources as coal. As a result, at that time in England almost all the forests were denuded, giving rise to a serious "timber famine." It was only after the bourgeois revolution that in England, France and other countries big headway was made in the utilization of energy resources. England's coal output was 2,600,000 tons in 1700, reached 7,600,000 tons in 1790 and 10,000,000 tons in 1795. In France the bourgeois revolution also gave an impetus to the development of the utilization of energy and energy-related science and technology. In 1814, only 15 factories in France used machines for production; by 1830, as many as 600 factories or more used steam engines and new-type machines. In respect of energy-related science and technology, this period was also marked by Carnot's study of thermodynamics, the discovery of the phenomenon and essence of combustion, and the final formation of the theory of oxidation by combustion.

The substitution of the capitalist by the socialist system has opened up unprecedentedly vast prospects for man to know and use energy. A contrast between energy-related developments before and after China's liberation illustrates, more than anything else, the tremendous role of the socialist system in promoting energy utilization. In old China, oppression by the feudal forces and imperialist aggression hindered to a serious extent the discovery and utilization of energy resources. The feudal rulers of Ming and Ch'ing resorted to various means to hinder the development of coal mines, such as by levying heavy taxes, suspending mining operations or even in the name of protecting good locations in a geomantic sense. In the Ming dynasty, "in the first year of Chengte it was ruled by imperial order that since the Hunho mining site was near the imperial tombs and the national capital, mining should be strictly prohibited for fear of harming the geomantic advantages. Members of the royal family as well as influential

families are not allow to dig rocks and extract coal." Similar things were done by the Ch'ing feudal rulers. For instance, "Records of Industries in Modern China" stated: In the Fushun Coal Mine, "extraction had been carried on since the Liao and Chin periods. In the Ch'ing dynasty operations were banned for geomantic reasons." The imperialists, while dumping large quantities of petroleum products in China to reap fabulous profits, created the myth that "China is poor in oil." In 1914, the US Mobile Petroleum Company sent its geologists to China to carry out surveys, and these geologists then asserted ludicrously: "Judging by the types of the rocks and their formation periods, it is unlikely that oil reserves of commercial value can be found in most parts of China."

In fact, the so-called "China is poor in oil" theory is nothing but a product of the reactionary social system. At present, when the capitalist world has sunk into the so-called energy crisis, China, which was regarded by imperialism as a "country poor in oil" more than 20 years ago, has achieved colossal progress in oil prospecting and extraction, thanks to the establishment and development of the socialist system. Take well drilling for example. Before the liberation, the total footage of wells drilled was only 67,000 meters. In new China, one drilling team in 1973 alone had drilled 151,420 meters of wells. Today, China produces far more oil in one day than old China produced in one year. China has become more than self-sufficient in oil. In the more than ten years after the founding of new China, it had acquired its own atom and hydrogen bombs, symbolic of the flying development of atomic science and technology in our country. Remarkable results have also been gained in the use of new energy sources such as earth heat and solar energy. Equally, significant contributions have been made in respect to energy-related science and technology. The Chinese workers, searching for oil and gas with Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking and applying dialectical materialism together with geologists, have heavily smashed the metaphysics of traditional geology and applied the viewpoint of geomechanics and the law of structural system to locate oilfields, thereby both in theory and in practice crushing the absurdities of imperialism and its lackeys about "China being poor in oil."

As can be seen from the history of man's endeavor to know and use energy resources, substantial development of energy utilization appeared in several major upheavals in human history, from the replacement of the slave system by the feudal system and the replacement of the feudal system by the capitalist system to the replacement of the capitalist system by the socialist system. This proves most vividly the truth that revolution liberates the productive forces. Of course, the replacement of the old system of exploitation by the socialist system is far greater and more profound that the substitution of the slave system by the feudal system and of the feudal system by the capitalist system in human history. The socialist system has for the first time enabled the people to become real masters of energy resources, and for the first time made it possible to develop energy resources by the application of dialectical materialism. The impact of the socialist revolution on the substantial development of energy utilization will be something unmatched by the several periods of major development in history. On the other hand, the so-called energy crisis of imperialism, like the large-scale destruction of energy resources

on the eve of the collapse of the old system in history, typically reflects the fact that the old relations of production have become fetters hampering the development of the productive forces.

(3) There Is No End to the Road for Man to Know and Utilize Energy

"The history of mankind is one of continuous development from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This process is never-ending." The history of development of knowledge and utilization of energy is a vivid illustration of this process of dialectical development.

In the wake of the discovery and use of various new forms of energy, people have increasingly recognized that the essence of energy is the motion of matter. Just as the material world is inexhaustible, so the motion of matter is never-ending, and also inexhaustible is natural energy. Nor is there an end to the road for man to know and use energy.

To be sure, the transformation of motion is effected under certain conditions, as is the transformation of natural energy into energy that can be used by man. In a class society, these conditions are restrained by class struggle, the struggle for production and the level of scientific experiment. Therefore, energy, as a category in itself, also develops unceasingly. What was not regarded as an energy source previously might later become an energy source. The process of man's struggle to know and use energy is exactly a continuous process of studying the conditions for transformation so that more and more new energy resources can be devoted to the development of society.

All sorts of "energy exhaustion" theories that appeared in the history of mankind were theoretically erroneous because they looked at the problem of energy in a metaphysical way, denied the infinity of the material world and denied the indestructibility of the motion of matter or else made the given conditions for the transformation of motion of matter isolated and absolute. Politically, these views often conformed to the needs of the moribund reactionary classes and became their tools for opposing progress. In our country, when the landlord class was becoming increasingly reactionary, Ssuma Kuang, the disciple of Confucius and Mencius, declared that "there is a limit to the production of all kinds of material resources in the world." In Europe, when the bourgeoisie was becoming increasingly reactionary, there appeared Clausius' "theory of heat death," which held that following the continuous dissipation of heat, an ultimate limit would finally be reached when, even without any reduction in the total volume of heat energy in the world, it would be impossible any longer to find any heat energy that could be transformed into mechanical power and the universe would be in a rigid state caused by certain inertia. This might be described as a still more subtle expression of the "energy exhaustion" theory. And it so met the needs of the reactionary classes that it was regarded by the Pope in Rome as part of the "scientific evidence" of God's existence.

Engels, on the basis of the fundamental principles of dialectical materialism, thoroughly refuted Clausius' "theory of heat death," pointing out: "Clausius' second law, etc., however it may be formulated, shows energy as lost, qualitatively if not quantitatively." Engels profoundly elucidated the principle of dialectical materialism concerning indestructibility of motion, and stated: "The indestructibility of motion cannot be conceived merely quantiatively, it must also be conceived qualitatively." The development of natural science is verifying Engels' splendid thesis.

At present, with the deepening of the crisis of the imperialist system, in order to cover up the decline of the imperialist system, the reactionary "energy exhaustion" theory has been raised noisily once again. The bourgeois scholars cry aloud that "the energy shortage is not merely a common but also an incurable disease." The Soviet revisionists babble that "mankind is faced with a real catastrophe--energy starvation." And so on and so forth. These reactionary theories not only run counter to materialist dialectics so far as the theory of knowledge goes, but also fail to conform with historical facts about the development of energy.

In the first place, the history of energy development tells us that reserves of fossil oil, natural gas and coal, as the most basic sources of energy at present, have not been all discovered. For reasons of social system and the level of production development and for other reasons, not all deposits of these energy sources have been found. Old China was believed to be "a country poor in oil," yet New China has discovered abundant oil deposits. This is but one example. The history of the various countries in the world in discovering reserves of energy sources such as oil, coal and natural gas also fully proves this. According to relevant statistics, recoverable oil reserves found in the world (excluding China) were estimated at more than 6 billion tons in 1939 and more than 90 billion tons in 1974. Recently, new oilfields have continuously been discovered in the oceans and continental shelves. The same is true of natural gas reserves; they were estimated at nearly 2,000 billion cubic meters in 1939 and 70,000 billion cubic meters in 1974. This shows that reserves of oil, natural gas and coal on the earth have been continuously discovered. Mankind still has a very long way to go in discovering and using all these reserves, to say nothing of "energy exhaustion."

In the second place, the history of energy utilization proves that even for the same type of energy, the rate of utilization has also been continuously raised. At first, the thermal efficiency of the steam engine was only a few percentage points; today, it may generally reach 30 to 40 percent. And following the development of industrial production and the elevation of the technological level, the rate of utilization of energy resources is still being unceasingly increased. For instance, the operation of a large-capacity, high-parameter steam power installation, raising the parameter in feeding of combustion gas into the gas turbine, and the application of the combustion gas-steam joint circulation as well as recent research into the direct generation of electricity by magnetic fluid, the study of the fuel batteries, etc., are paving the way for unceasingly raising the rate of energy utilization.

The rate of utilization of uranium--nuclear fission energy--is also being continuously raised. For the thermal neutron pile generally used for the generation of power, the rate of utilization of uranium

can only reach one to two percent, but the adoption of the rapid neutron breeder pile can boost the rate of utilization of uranium to over 60 percent.

In the third place, the history of energy development also proves that following the development of human society, the sphere of natural energy sources that can be used by man is also being unceasingly expanded, and new energy sources are being continuously discovered. Nuclear fission energy has been extensively applied in the generation of power, and nuclear fusion energy with a potential far greater than nuclear fission energy will eventually become an energy source that can be used by man. After the realization of controlled thermal nuclear reaction, the vast bodies of sea water will turn into inexhaustible energy sources. According to estimates, deuterium stored in all the oceans, calculated on the basis of present world consumption of energy, may last up to ten billion years. Besides, the earth itself is a vast storehouse of thermal energy having vast quantities of thermal current by far greater than all existing reserves of coal, oil and natural gas. The application of the extremely abundant geothermal energy has only begun. Nor has solar energy, free from the danger of pollution, been used directly on a large scale. Besides, following the development of human society, more new energy sources will certainly be discovered for the service of mankind.

In short, the historical facts about the development of energy sources amply demonstrate that "ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong."

The so-called energy crisis besetting the capitalist world at present is nothing but a product of the imperialist system itself, a distinguishing feature of its increasing decadence and decline. The American press shouts in alarm: "We can now see the bottom of our barrel." In fact, this is precisely the result of indiscriminate extraction and use of natural resources by the oil monopoly groups in their eagerness to grab superprofits. Take, for example, the United States, a country which "accounts for six percent of the world population and one-third of world consumption of energy" and which prides itself on its prosperity. What happens there exemplifies the waste and destruction of energy resources caused by the decadent relations of production. The large amounts of energy consumed in the United States are used for expanding its armaments in preparation for war. Ten percent of its oil and 33 percent of its industrial electric power are used for the production of military hardware.

On the question of energy, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialism equally exposes its reactionary and moribund nature. It willfully seizes the energy resources of the Third World and reaps huge profits from doing so. Over the past few years, its imports of low-price crude oil from the Middle East have risen drastically; while in 1967 imports amounted to 100,000 tons, they reached more than seven million tons in 1972 and more than 13 million tons in 1973. The Soviet revisionists have also forced the Arab states to repay their debts incurred in the purchase of Soviet arms with low-price oil and then re-sold the oil to Europe and America for a fabulous profit. The use of the oil weapon in the anti-imperialist struggle by the Third World has precisely resulted from the ruthless exploitation and plunder by imperialism, particularly the two superpowers.

Alarming cries of the two superpowers about "energy exhaustion" and "energy starvation" actually reflect the fact that they are no longer able to plunder the Third World at will as a result of their crises caused by their predatory policies and hegemonism. Take oil for example. According to their published statistics, the oil reserves of the world in 1974 were put at 93.8 billion tons, but in that same year the world's total oil output was only 2.8 billion tons. How can one talk about "exhaustion" and "starvation"? The question is that about 80 percent of the world's oil reserves are located in the Third World, and the people there can no longer tolerate the willful plunder by the superpowers. This precisely shows that the so-called energy crisis is the crisis of the imperialist system itself.

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The road for mankind to know and use energy has all along been fraught with class struggle and the struggle between two kinds of world outlook. Every new discovery and every major development in the history of energy development invariably has resulted from struggle, and each step forward taken in the utilization of energy will invariably entail new contradictions and struggle. The history of energy development is a history created by the laboring masses. The practice of the millions and millions of the laboring people has continued to open up the road to know and utilize energy. However, in a society ruled by the exploiting classes, energy sources explored by the laboring masses have been turned into a means by which the reactionary ruling classes oppress the laboring people. At present, the so-called energy crisis reflects the fact that the day of total collapse of the imperialist and social-imperialist systems will not be far off. Following the growing triumph of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggle by the people of the Third World and of the whole world, a new period of unprecedented brilliance will surely appear in the history of energy development.

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